'he Satevepost's "General Krivitsky" Exposes Himself Turn to page 7

NEW MASSES

JULY 4, 1939 FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

Renaissance in Hollywood?

Joseph North

What the WPA Has Done

Facts and Figures

Telegraph Monopoly and Mechanization

Douglas Ward

Death in Chinatown

Eugene E. Hurley

Samuel Sillen on John Dos Passos

CARTOONS BY GROPPER, GARDNER REA, REDFIELD, RICHTER

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

Announcement

THE editors of NEW MASSES wish to make public announcement to our readers that the drive to *Save New Masses* is at an end.

During the past several months, under pressure of a daily danger of suspension, our thousands of readers and warm friends jumped into the breach and sent into our offices more than $23,000 in contributions. Two hundred of our more affluent friends contributed $10,000, an average of $50 each. The balance of $13,000 received during the campaign came from more than three thousand readers in sums varying from a nickel to five dollars. Needless to say, the single dollar bill was the hero of the drive, which in most cases represented a real sacrifice.

We had set out to raise a fund of $30,000, which was the minimum required to carry us through the year. To date we have raised $23,078. Frankly, the reason why we are concluding our drive $7,000 short of our goal is that our readers appear to have given all that they can spare for the present. Yet, no matter how we juggle the figures, revise our budget downward, and attempt to stall off this or that creditor, we find ourselves faced with the inescapable reality of a $7,000 deficit.

Our financial drive is concluded for the present. However, we cannot hope to clear the hurdle of the summer months without immediately borrowing $7,000 which we could repay in the fall when we will again come to our readers to complete the $30,000 drive. We appeal to our readers to advance this sum in amounts from $50 to $500 as *loans* to NEW MASSES until October or November. At that time we are confident that our readers will complete the drive and give us the money to repay these summer loans. We pondered this problem long and hard and we feel that this is the logical way out. We hope you'll agree.

There is one final request we would like to make of our readers. Some weeks ago we mailed out to you thousands of coin cards, providing space for $1.70 in coins of various denominations. Many of these cards have been returned filled with coins. However, there are still thousands of these coin-card collectors remaining unused, in the homes of our readers. To facilitate the drawing up of a properly certified and final statement of all funds received in the campaign, it is extremely urgent that NEW MASSES immediately receive all such coin cards, whether filled with coins, half filled, or empty. *So please drop your coin card in the mail immediately.*

In closing our *Save New Masses* drive, the inspiration derived from the magnificent response of our readers to our appeals must be translated into making NM an even better progressive journal. *That's the job of the editors.* And with these editorial improvements must come the extensive widening of our readership and our sphere of influence over progressive thought in America. *That's the job of our friends and readers.*

Which brings us to the subject of our summer slogan contest, the new, easy method of winning new readers for NEW MASSES and a prize for our old readers. It is gratifying to report that even at this early date our office is being swamped by a flood of competing slogans. Our slogan contest, as you know, is frankly designed to lift us out of the summer slump by the addition of ten thousand new NEW MASSES readers. Bruce Crawford, noted Southern editor, hit the nail on the head in his letter to us last week when he wrote: "The magazine should have not only a sustaining fund, but a popular subsidy in the form of prompt renewals and *new thousands of readers.*"

This is the pleasant job of every one of us. With NEW MASSES steadily improving from issue to issue, we are confident that all of our readers will get into the summer circulation campaign and push us across that goal of ten thousand new readers by Labor Day.

THE EDITORS.

CARL BRISTEL, *Business Manager.*

THE next issue of NM will be a special China number on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Japanese invasion. Among the features will be an article, "China Today and Tomorrow," specially written for NM by Madame Sun Yat-sen, wife of the founder of the Chinese Republic and member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. Philip Jaffe, managing editor of *Amerasia,* writes on two years of the Far Eastern war. The issue will also include an important article by Earl Browder, "The United States and the Soviet Union in World Affairs," and the second of Editor Joseph North's two pieces on Hollywood, past and present.

Redfield had a fine idea for a cartoon—Paul Revere's ride—and the staff thought it was very funny. (See page 13.) An hour later came Bill Gropper's weekly cartoon—Paul Revere's ride—and we thought it one of his best. (See page 8.) Rather than kill either of these gems we decided to call this the Paul Revere Number just before one of the associate editors started off on Dick Rovere's ride to the printers.

Correction: In Paul G. McManus' Washington correspondence last week, reference was made to Rep. Paul Shafer of Michigan as a Silver Shirt leader; Mr. McManus intended to refer to Rep. John Schafer of Wisconsin. Also, the amount contributed by the Republican National Committee to Mr. Schafer's election was $500 instead of $1,000.

Who's Who

RICHARD GOODMAN is NM's European correspondent. . . . Stephen Peabody is a free-lance writer on American historical topics. . . . NM is proud to be the first magazine to publish Eugene E. Hurley a twenty-four-year-old white-collar worker, born in Holyoke, Mass., and now residing in New York City. We also have on hand a short story by Mr. Hurley, which will appear shortly in NM. . . . Douglas Ward is second vice-president of the Telegraph Division of the American Communications Association. . . . S. W. Gerson is assistant to Borough President of Manhattan Stanley M. Isaacs. . . . Maurice Dobb, whose *Political Economy and Capitalism* was recently reviewed in NM, is an English Marxian economist. . . . Boris Gamzue teaches English at New York University.

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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New Masses

VOLUME XXXII JULY 4, 1939 NUMBER 2

Renaissance in Hollywood?

Have the lords of Hollywood seen the light or are "Juarez" and "Confessions of a Nazi Spy" accidents? A history of the film in two reels, by Joseph North.

Who were those editors picking the most detestable word in the English language and deciding the one word just a little worse than any other you can think of is "exclusive"?—CARL SANDBURG.

An old Italian proverb has it that a calamity to all is but half a calamity. There is a corollary—a joy in common is doubly a joy. I kept remembering that, thinking about the movies. No art form possesses greater potentialities for harmonizing the discords of the folk, for achieving the cultural unity that would reflect their political and economic aspirations. No art form ever caught on like the movies, gargantuan in its scope. It is the mass art, the negation of that word hateful to Sandburg—"exclusive."

Here in America it is *the* unique art that is Big Business—the fourth heaviest capitalized industry in the land. For a long time America regarded the making of movies as a sort of pixilated industry. For a third of a century anybody connected with pictures lived in the imagination of Broadway or Main Street—as well as Wall—as a kind of leprechaun dancing nimbly on the golden sands of Hollywood. Certain bankers insisted William Fox wore laurel in his hair in the dells at Hollywood and Vine. One thing Wall Street cannot bear is laurels in anybody's hair. They fixed Mr. Fox for it.

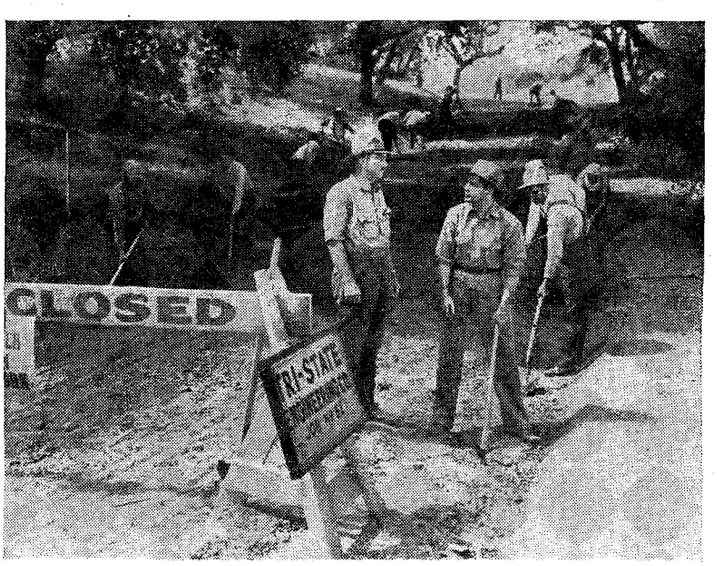
Latterly people have come to realize that $2,000,000,000 is no fairytale. America's fourth richest industry has passed out of the fable stage. You cannot believe in Hans Andersen after the Chase National Bank arrives on the spot. It is on that spot. And yet . . .

When 85,000,000 persons in America emerge from coal patch, wood, or slum to pay an average of 23 cents per week *each* to enjoy Hollywood's magic—that's Big Business. You don't have to own stock in U. S. Steel to see that the movies mount up to a lot of money. Yet it took Wall Street a long time to see ahead of Mr. Morgan's nose—but more of that later on. In about a third of a century 16,251 motion picture houses opened up—roughly, one for every eight thousand persons in the nation. One hundred firms labor endlessly in the production of motion pictures and produce about five hundred films annually—not to mention about eight hundred shorts. Production cost is estimated at $165,000,000 annually. About 276 different industries, arts, and professions are called on to create one picture; 28,500 people in the land are engaged in production, and Hollywood's annual payroll tops $129,000,000 yearly.

That covers production; now for exhibition. Two hundred and forty-one thousand men and women work in these 16,251 movies from Augusta, Me., to San Jose, Calif., seating 9,855,325. Almost every adult over eighteen years of age goes to the movies at least once weekly—about 85,000,000 to be relatively exact. Their dimes, quarters, and half-dollars mount up to the astronomical sum of $1,000,000,000 in yearly revenues at the box office. Film rentals which these theaters pay to distributors average $250,000,000 yearly.

The movies pay Uncle Sam over $100,000,000 in taxes and more than $250,000,000 to the state government. Over $77,000,000 goes annually for ads in newspapers and magazines in the country and over $33,000,000 in other parts of the world. This should provide a fairly good notion of the ramifications of this last of America's frontier industries—the erstwhile pixilated movies. You can see that all the foregoing mounts up to what is popularly known roundabouts as a lot of jack.

But oddly enough it adds up to more than that too. That's the burden of this story. It has added up to *Juarez* and to *Confessions of a Nazi Spy:* two works of art that continue to stir millions of Americans into a course of action, into a defense of a way of life which is dearer to the majority of 130,000,000 Americans than spouse, child, or fortune: democracy—and its ideal of man's dignity. That is the earmark of the greatest art—one that helps shape humanity toward a monolithic structure—that removes barriers between people. That Hollywood has been able to produce



PAUL MUNI *as a convict worker in "I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang," one of the first contemporary social films.*

FRAMING AN INNOCENT NEGRO *in Warner Bros.' "They Won't Forget," an anti-lynch film inspired by the Leo Frank case.*

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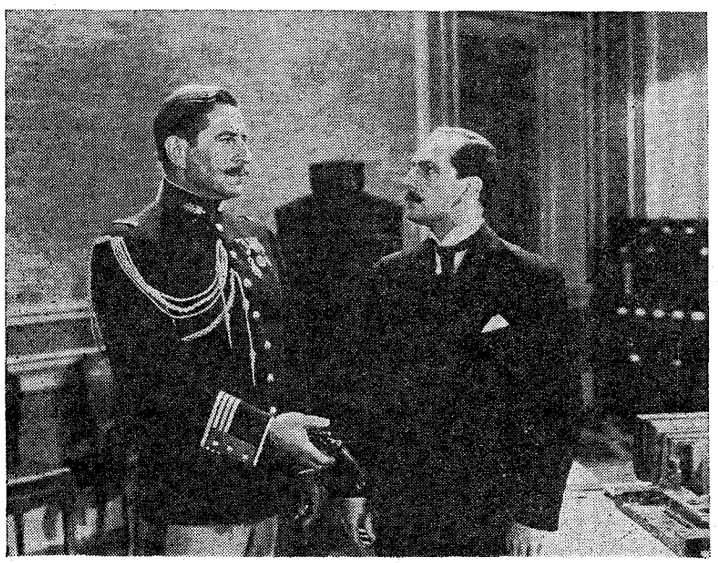
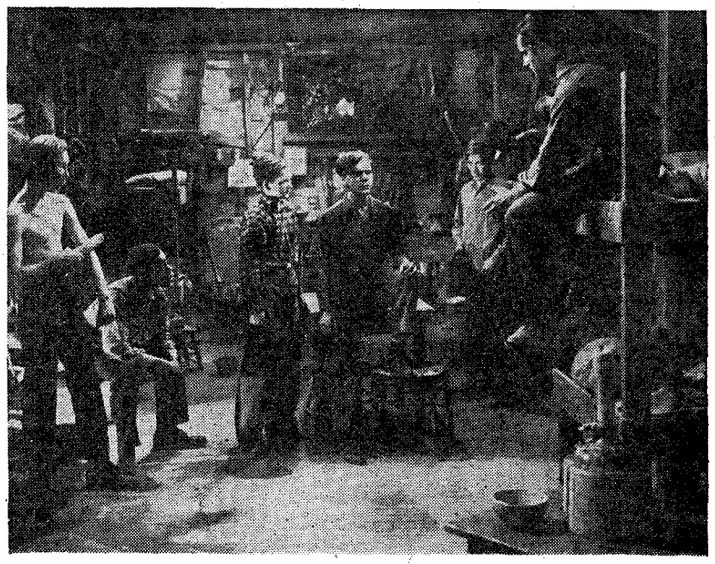


SCAPEGOAT ALFRED DREYFUS *is offered the suicide's way in the powerful picture, "The Life of Emile Zola."*



RKO'S CHILD LABOR FILM, *"Boy Slaves," from a story by Albert Bein, depicts conditions in a Southern turpentine camp.*

two such films despite the presence of Wall Street is a phenomenon that demands explanation.

It happened only a year ago that the *Wall Street Journal* (April 23, 1938)—wrote with macabre sprightliness:

> . . . you have seen the last for many a long day of these gallant gallopings toward the goal of artistry. No more *Midsummer Night's Dream;* nothing even approaching *Strange Interlude;* not even a single *Romeo and Juliet;* entire absence of great opera stars. Definitely no more flirtings with the 3 or 4 percent of the moviegoing population who cry aloud for "better pictures." No, sir! From now on we're as practical as all get-out, with an eye on the boxoffice and to hades with art for art's sake.

The oracle who got that off is one C. F. Morgan. His piece, captioned "Hollywood Watches the Dollars," carried the subhead "Drive for Economy Holds Promise for Movie Stocks."

Not that we make a plea here for the ham Shakespearean stuff that *Midsummer Night's Dream* turned out to be; but it did strive for something. It fell short, sure, and by a mile, but let America see the strivings and tell Hollywood it fell short. But this man Morgan doesn't even want the attempt—and that is fatal. Wall Street doesn't believe in experimenting, in "wasting money"—and that's the crime. But Wall Street—under democracy—is not complete master of its destiny. It would be, under fascism. But now, in 1939, it must respond to the manifold pressures of the people.

WALL AND MAIN STREETS

Two great pressures determine the Hollywood of today. The torque of forces stretches between Wall Street and Main Street. Wall wants retrenchment—scuttles socially intelligent pictures. Main—since 1931—wants better pictures, something corresponding to the bewildering realities of our time. The man of Wall Street wants a "reasonable" dividend on his investment; the man of Main Street wants better stuff for his more valuable 23 cents a week. Wall Street, in short, shies at reality. Main wants it.

The following figures should induce the producers to think twice and again. They indicate more effectively than words how the movies are dependent upon the economic graph of the time. There should be conclusions from this: that ideas as well as ticket sales are influenced by the economic graph. And evidence is at hand that such reflecting is going on.

The average weekly attendance at movie theaters in the United States:

1923	43,000,000	1931	75,000,000
1924	46,000,000	1932	60,000,000
1925	48,000,000	1933	60,000,000
1926	50,000,000	1934	70,000,000
1927	57,000,000	1935	75,000,000
1928	65,000,000	1936	80,000,000
1929	95,000,000	1937	85,000,000
1930	110,000,000	1938	85,000,000

You get an idea how many the movies reach by these figures. There was never anything in the world like it. Attendance figures naturally reflect the economic well-being of the country. Up, up, up to the dizzy height of 119,000,000 per week in 1930. Then the crash. Down, back to sixty million. Then with the introduction of WPA, PWA, and a partial comeback economically, back to 75,000,000, and today the figure stands at about 85,000,000.

Hollywood producers—and the gentlemen of Wall Street—should study these vital statistics. It is the irony of our time that we must, perforce, consider Wall Street, for big American capitalism did not build this giant industry. Little business men who caught a glimpse of the potentialities of the new "fad" started the job. Picaresque entrepreneurs out of the circuses and sideshows—who lived close to the folk—started the job. Wall Street as usual moved in only when cash came hard. In the early years of the century it believed the movies were "a cheap show for cheap people." The New York *Herald Tribune* called it "flimsy amusement for the mob." The respectable banker stalked by indifferently as the peepshows of the first decade blossomed into the elegantly arcaded Rialtos and Grands and Gems.

God knows, the ex-garment merchants committed sins of commission and omission enough to damn them in perpetuity, but they did have the vision and enterprise of pre-monopoly capitalism. True, they aspired at Wall Street themselves, but the fact is they built the industry, or rather, it grew up about *them,* not about Wall Street. The fact remains that J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller and Pierre du Pont did not see what was happening under their noses until it happened.

In other words, the industry, financially, grew up like Topsy. It was relatively "unregimented" until fairly late in its history—about 1928, when sound entered the scene—and then after 1929 when the crash came. Of course, the super-rationalization man from Lower Manhattan is on the lot, stopwatch in hand. But like heliotropism—the tendency of certain plants to turn toward the sun—Wall Street must ultimately turn toward the dividend. It happens that today public opinion demands smarter pictures, films reflecting life, not the senseless fantasy of escapism. The radio and press have been crowding hard; independent movies have pointed the way: pioneers like Joris Ivens, in his Spanish and Chinese films, Paul Strand's Mexican work, Herbert Kline's Czechoslovakian documentary. Add to that the entrance of the government on the scene—Pare Lorentz' *The River* and *The Plow That Broke the Plains*—splendid jobs—and you see what is prodding the Hollywood moguls. The Hollywood Motion Picture Guild is financing Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians.* Frontier Films is working on a picture that reflects the work of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. No wonder the stopwatch men of Wall Street look about.

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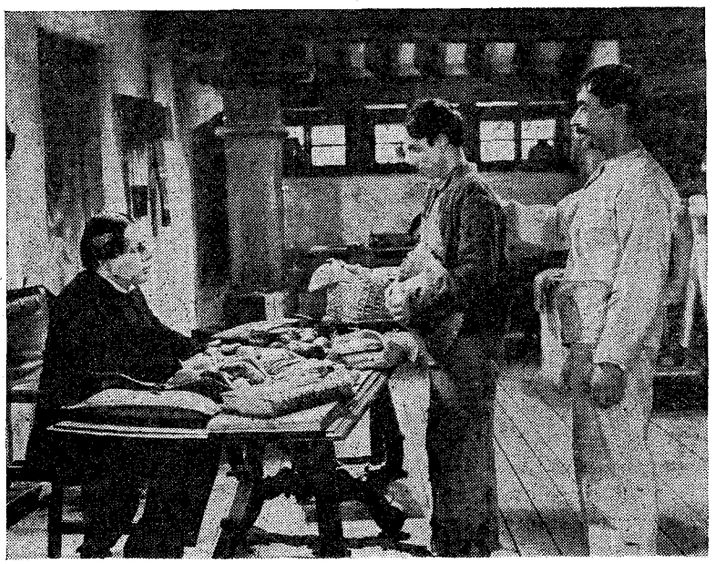

THE PRESIDENT MEETS THE PEOPLE *in "Juarez," Hollywood's great social film success, now running.*

THE GESTAPO IN NEW YORK HARBOR *from the currently sensational indictment of Hitler espionage, "Confessions of a Nazi Spy."*

Anybody who glances at the history of the movies is struck by its fantastic career. In fact, there could be a great movie in a history of the movies. Some time one of our independents will do that job and it will pack the houses. Let us cut back to the beginnings of the industry for a moment. Much has happened since the Edison kinetoscope took America by storm back in 1889. Remember the peepshow? You dropped a nickel in the slot, an electric light flashed, a tiny motor whirred, and you saw pictures that moved. True, what you saw was nothing to write to the Smithsonian Institution about—you saw a girl dance, or a man sneeze, or a round or two of a boxing match, or a horse eat hay. Not much, but it was enough. Pictures moved and gave the illusion of life. *Mirabile dictu!*

Then some smart young men began to think about this proposition. Not Edison, incidentally; he didn't know what he had. He kept pushing the phonograph, and regarded the movies as a transitory toy that intrigued for a while, a fad that would pass. The young men said to themselves that if pictures were shown on a large curtain or screen, a new and profitable entertainment field would be discovered. It happened in May 1895, only forty-four years ago. In close order the pantopticon came; presented five minutes of a prizefight. Five minutes of reel! Then the vitascope, and then the phantascope. In April 1896, Koster and Bial's Music Hall, New York's leading vaudeville theater, ballyhooed, somewhat gingerly, a gala night. "Living Pictures!" the billboards said. The movies were born.

But not all of America was sold on them—not by a long shot. For years snob critics kept referring to the new art as a "cheap show for cheap people." The "flickering monstrosity" they called it.

FOR A NICKEL

But the new "art" had the magic of mass appeal. You didn't need a college education to enjoy it. Nor did you need 50 cents to $1.50 to go to the "legitimate theater." You could leave the baby with grandmother and go downtown or around the corner and forget your woes while John Bunny took a rolling-pin lambasting from his skinny wife, or Theda Bara languished on a fur-lined couch, or Broncho Billy shot up the Silver Dollar. Cheap amusement? Sure, but it brought something to the people, something beyond diapers and rents and low wages. For a long time it brought them, chiefly, escape from the kitchen and the tedium and exhaustion of the ten-hour day in the foundry.

D. W. Griffith called the movies "the poor man's university." Not all of the films of the early era were escapist. There were provocative subjects dealt with from a progressive point of view. The movies did much to break down chauvinistic attitudes toward recent immigrant peoples—the Jew was treated with dignity in *Child of the Ghetto* and *A Man's Man;* the Italian in *In Little Italy;* and the Irish in *The Colleen Bawn.* Other pictures intelligently treated the Mexican, Chinese, Negro, and American Indian. There were trenchant sociological films like one called *Why?* which asked, why child labor and gamblers, and "Why does Capital sit easily at dinner with Church and Justice, and with the Army, while Labor is outside starving?" The social films were almost lost under custard-pie and cop-chasing-tramp comedies and Westerns but they were there, something that could not be said for the era of the twenties.

By 1910 somewhere between ten and twenty million people went to the movies each week. These were still the one-reel days. I remember them well, as a child down in Chester, Pa. Mondays and Thursdays we went to the Rat House, at Third and Market Streets. We called it the Rat House out of no deference to Teutonic lawmaking, but because a startled rodent used to run across the stage at every performance as the camera glare flashed on, his shadow vastly magnified on the screen. Mom went to the second show—nine to eleven—and the four kids went to the first show—seven to nine—so that somebody would always be home minding the stove. We never saw a "real theater"—the legitimate stage—until we were twenty-one.

Multiply the Rat House by about ten thousand and you have a picture of the movie industry of that period. Production and distribution stood at about the same level.

ZUKOR AND HODKINSON

About this time, or a little earlier, Adolph Zukor, ex-furrier, and a William W. Hodkinson had an idea—the same idea, but they arrived at it independently. One got the idea on the West Coast, the other three thousand miles away in New York. Hodkinson operated in the distributing end of the game, Zukor in production. Zukor, an obscure fellow with a crazy notion, went after the big shots of the movies of that time, General Films—a forerunner of the monopolies—to present his idea. He cooled off in the reception room day after day until one day he got his chance. When Zukor presented his idea—for a *five*-reel picture—the film magnates laughed. Benjamin B. Hampton, movie historian, says they predicted Zukor would soon be back "making buttonholes." But the buttonhole maker with an idea was not to be daunted. In 1912 he bought the American rights of a four-reel French photoplay, *Queen Elizabeth,* in which Sarah Bernhardt starred. Then he went about launching his own producing company. Famous Players it was called, and his first feature was *The Prisoner of Zenda,* made from the dramatized version of Anthony Hope's novel. The picture required the outlandish sum of $20,000, but it was an immediate success. Zukor proved his idea was right: the public—the people—wanted better pictures. We loved the "stars"—but we wanted better pictures for them.

The folk—all of us—loved the movie heroes; they brought some slight color into our

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lives. They brought, too, that important thing: a feeling of "commonality" among us. We all talked of Mary and Doug and Charlie. Chaplin's shoes acquired a homy connotation; we might find them under *our* bed. We yearned for these "glamour" people to reflect our own lives; to be on our side. Though we began to resent the banality of their vehicles, we loved our stars.

THEY STAND WITH US

Something happened since 1931 to lead us to believe that the best of these people stand with us, stand against the public enemies. The last few years have sped this confidence, strengthened it.

(Never will I forget the scene in the little whitewashed cinema in the Spanish mountain village where the leading men of the Fifteenth Division held their conference last year. The best warriors elected by their buddies trekked across the *barrancos* to discuss plans to better their work; how to combat the increasing torrents of Hitler metal. They passed into the conference under a ten-foot picture of Joan Crawford. The legend under the star's photo, in Spanish: "She led Hollywood in driving Mussolini's whelp out of America." All during the war, I remember, the movies stayed open; rain or shine, bombardment or clear. Charlie Chaplin of *Modern Times* screwed his endless bolts all over republican Spain; they saw the picture over and over again, much as you listen to a Beethoven symphony. Next in popularity came *Sailors of Kronstadt.* The *soldados* never tired of watching the young Soviet marine wait for the advancing tank to toss a few hand grenades under the tractor, dismantling the monster. They guided themselves on that shot; the intrepid "anti-tanquistas" referred to that picture endlessly.)

So it went. Through the twenties *Rudy* tangoed and shed his blood on the sand before millions; *Wally* raced his handsome way to a pathetic grave; *Charlie* flat-footed it through the trenches in Flanders, to the Gold Rush under the Northern Lights. Then came sound: Al Jolson got on his knee to make a nation weep in *The Jazz Singer.* Everything changed to conform with the new needs. People wanted more; they got more. They want more today. They'll get more. It's coming to them.

This is not to say there hasn't been evil in Hollywood. God knows there was, and is, and plenty of it. Chicanery and the double-cross in business dealings; tawdriness and phony art in the production. But out of this flux, this chaos and mediocrity, something happened. Something big.

DEPRESSION DAYS

Until 1929 the producers were able to get away with murder—and, what some think worse, bad art. America was on the up-and-up—two chickens in every pot and a car in every garage, Hoover said; eternal prosperity, Hoover said. Nobody objected very much if the movies showed all American men in swallowtails and all American women in Tiffany sparklers. We'll make it, the young thought, and so did most of their elders. Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, 120,000,000 people headed for the stars—or at least, Park Avenue. Then bang—1929—back in the gutter. 1930, 1931, 1932, breadlines. Hoover's apple. Tin Pan Alley's *Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?* barred from the air. 1934, 1935, 1936—years like decades. Millions thinking, millions learning. Down at rock bottom. You can't think of tuxedos when you can't buy overalls.

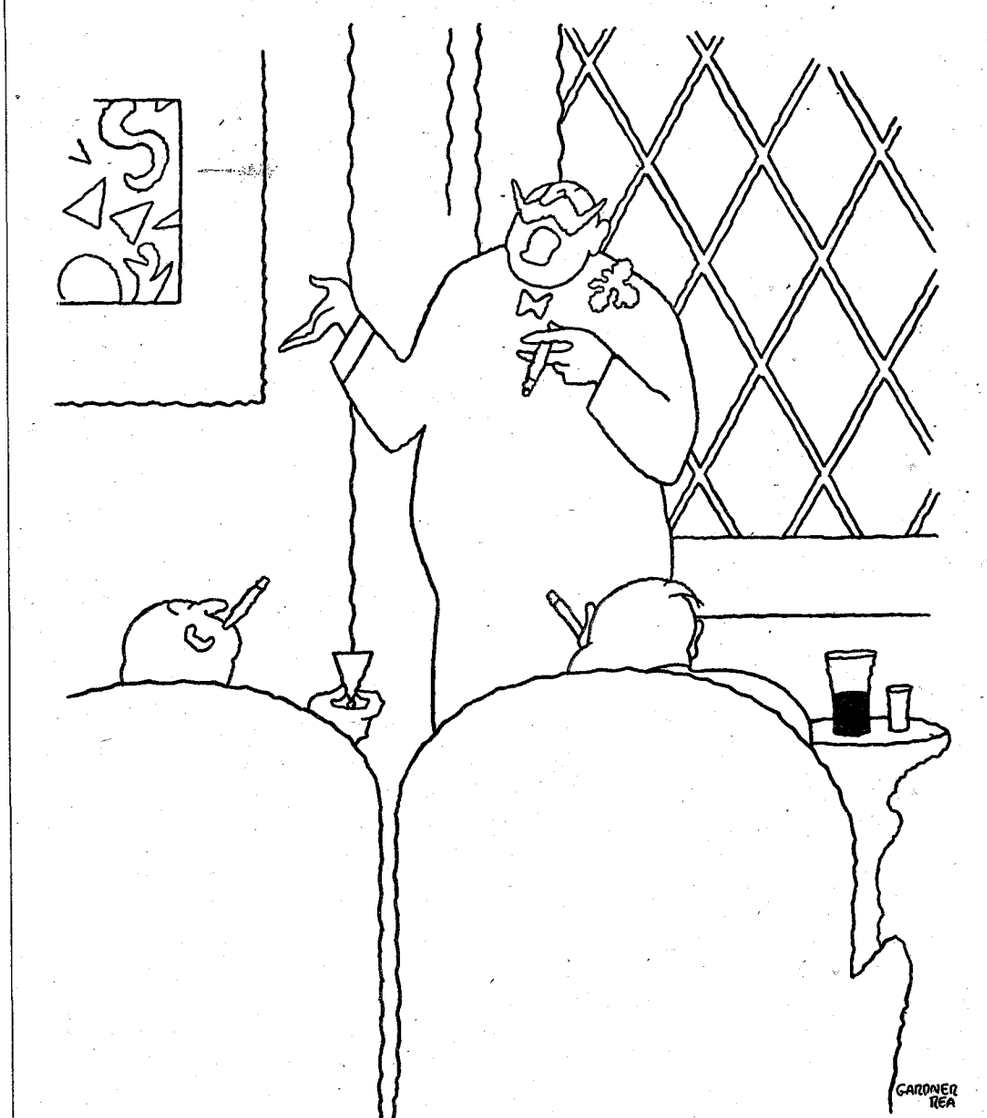
The movies—the poor man's hour of leisure—had to begin to mirror this. *My Man Godfrey* came along, one of the first experiments. *The Black Legion,* a Grade-B picture knocked off for a relative pittance, but which reflected Detroit's horror, swept across the country, made Warner Bros. a lot of money. Pictures like *The Informer* began to capture the attention of the people.

The men around whom Hollywood grew, the Zukors and the Selznicks and the Goldwyns, by this time had learned a lot, a lot of the wrong things. But they *began* to learn some of the *right* things. Though in the main they strove to climb into the company of Morgan and Aldrich they began to understand that the voice of the people is the voice of God. They thought they knew the voice of the people—but a glance at the boxoffice receipts in the years of 1931, 1932, 1933 proved otherwise. The interest in things cultural depended upon the pay envelope. The ideas of a people were affected by the pay envelope. Those ideas began to affect Hollywood.

THEN THE WAGE CUT

These suspicions, of course, did not prevent the producers from making the biggest mistake of their lives. In 1933 they cut wages 50 percent. Hollywood hands never quite recovered from the shock. A lot happened in Hollywood after that 50 percent cut. Next week's article will describe the progressive phase of the movie industry.

JOSEPH NORTH.



Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"The acid test, of course, will be whether or not Franco can make the trains run on time."

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A EDITORIAL ARTICLE

"General Krivitsky" Exposes Himself

The "Saturday Evening Post" mumbles an apology and discloses its own cheap hoax. The inventions of Isaac Don Levine. The Goebbels touch.

THE *Saturday Evening Post* has crawled out on a limb and is trying to persuade its readers that the limb is terra firma. This magazine with a circulation of more than three million has found it necessary to run a two-column leading editorial defending itself against the charges of NEW MASSES that it perpetrated a hoax when it published the anti-Soviet fantasies allegedly written by one Gen. W. G. Krivitsky, whom it billed as "the one leading survivor of the great purge in the Red Army," and "still a believer in the true Communism of Lenin." NEW MASSES revealed that Krivitsky is an impostor whose real name is Shmelka Ginsberg, that he is an Austrian by birth and was a denizen of Paris night clubs, but never a general.

The editors of the *Post* had said that the State Department had confirmed the authenticity of the bogus general. *Time* magazine, having queried the State Department, wrote in its May 22 issue: "This week the State Department refused either to confirm or deny the authenticity of General Krivitsky." NEW MASSES also queried Loy Henderson of the State Department, whose name was given by a *Post* editor to our Philadelphia representative, Ernest Pendrell, as the man who had certified "Krivitsky." Mr. Henderson flatly denied it. A diligent search through such official Soviet publications as the *Collection of Laws and Appointments of the Workers and Peasants Government of the USSR* for the years 1932-34 and the *Grand Soviet Encyclopedia* also reveals no mention of the name of this alleged high army officer who claims to have been director of the War Industries Institute in 1933-34. NEW MASSES also disclosed that the series of four articles had been ghosted by Isaac Don Levine, "a lily in his own right."

THE "POST" ADMITS DECEPTION

Apparently our revelations and the many protests the *Post* has received from its readers have gotten under the skin of the old tory of Independence Square. The *Post* is now compelled to admit one part of the hoax; its editorial states: "But it is true that Krivitsky, knowing no English, had the aid of Isaac Don Levine." NEW MASSES has in its possession a photostatic copy of a letter sent to a *Post* reader by its editors, stating that "Isaac Don Levine acted as his [Krivitsky's] *collaborator.*" It should be noted that the *Post,* more than any American magazine, makes a practice in such cases of printing above the article: "As told to . . ." and giving the name of the collaborator. The *Post,* therefore, deliberately deceived its readers when it failed to include the name of Levine as collaborator and actual author of the series.

Of course it is understandable why the *Post* should have been so reticent about Levine. If the record of Ginsberg-Krivitsky is unknown and is supported only by his own and the *Post's* claims, the record of Isaac Don Levine is by no means obscure. Levine has for more than twenty years made a career of peddling White Guard and fascist propaganda against the Soviet Union. This career led him inevitably into the service of America's No. 1 fascist, William Randolph Hearst, for whose newspapers he poured forth an endless stream of anti-Soviet articles—not always under his own name—based on material dredged from the cesspools of international fascism. One of "General" Levine's greatest achievements was to announce in his book, *Red Smoke,* his discovery that "Russia, as far as natural resources are concerned, ranks among the lowest countries in the world." No wonder the *Post* preferred to keep quiet—until NEW MASSES forced its hand—about the partnership of the Trotskyite, "General Krivitsky," and the fascist, Isaac Don Levine.

WHO'S ANTI-SEMITIC?

Unable to reply to the charges of NEW MASSES, the *Post* has adopted the old trick of creating a diversion. Taking a tip from the American Trotskyites with whom it has been working, the *Post* shouts "anti-Semitism" and points at NEW MASSES. The "anti-Semitism" of NEW MASSES consists in the fact that we revealed that "General Krivitsky's" real name is Shmelka Ginsberg. (It was the *Post*—not we—which in its editorial added the words: "You are a Galician Jew.") What the *Post* and its Trotskyist friends have done is *to accept the premise of the anti-Semites that there is a stigma attached to the possession of a Jewish name.* NEW MASSES never has and never will accept that premise.

We regret that Ginsberg-Krivitsky is a Jew. He has betrayed the only country in the world in which anti-Semitism is a crime punishable by law. But to state that the fake general's real name is Shmelka Ginsberg is no more anti-Semitic than it would be anti-Irish for us to say that someone's real name is Patrick Murphy. (Incidentally, are "Krivitsky" and Levine anti-Semitic when they write in their first article: "Kleber's real name was Stern"?) NEW MASSES' record on anti-Semitism speaks for itself. It was we—not the *Post*—who published in 1934, in the articles of John L. Spivak, the first detailed exposure of anti-Semitic and Nazi activities in the United States. It was we—not the *Post*—who as far back as January 1935, in an article by A. B. Magil, published the first evidence concerning Father Coughlin's anti-Semitism. In the past year NEW MASSES has published more material on anti-Semitism than has appeared in the *Post* in its entire history. One of our most recent contributions in this field was our exposure in the June 20 issue of an anti-Semitic and anti-Negro document issued by a committee of the New York State Chamber of Commerce.

Interestingly enough, after charging NEW MASSES with anti-Semitism for revealing "Krivitsky's" real name, the *Post* editorial proceeds to disclose the alleged real names of various NEW MASSES editors and contributors. These startling revelations include such tidbits as: "The editor of the Communist *Daily Worker* is Mike Gold"—though, were the *Post* interested in facts, it could have bought a *Daily Worker* for 3 cents and learned from the masthead that the editor is Clarence A. Hathaway—and: "A. B. Magil is the son of a Philadelphia rabbi"—though the Philadelphia telephone directory could have informed the *Post* that he is not. Obviously the *Post* in its editorial maintained the same high level of accuracy set by "General Krivitsky."

The articles themselves furnish additional proof that "Krivitsky," Levine, and the *Post* perpetrated a hoax. They reveal that "Krivitsky" is part of the international pro-fascist cabal of Trotskyites and Araquistain-Caballero "Socialists" who have gone over to the enemies of the Soviet Union, the enemies of democracy, the enemies of the peace and security of the United States.

"THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS"

The chief device that "Krivitsky" and Levine employ to give an air of impressive factuality to their articles is one that is a favorite of fascist propagandists. It is the trick of presenting all events "through the looking glass" so that truth becomes falsehood, and falsehood truth. Thus the Barcelona uprising against the loyalist government in May 1937, which was organized by the Trotskyist POUM and certain Anarchist "uncontrollables" in collaboration with Franco agents, becomes in the hands of "Krivitsky" and Levine a conspiracy engineered by Stalin's OGPU to provide a pretext for replacing Caballero as premier with Negrin. The assassination in 1934 of Stalin's closest co-worker, Sergei Kirov, by Trotskyist and Bukharinite agents was actually, "Krivitsky" and Levine intimate, the work of Stalin himself. Tukhachevsky and the seven Soviet generals who were executed in 1937 for plotting the overthrow of the Soviet govern-

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"The Reactionaries Are Coming!"

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ment with [illegible] of fascist powers were really, "Krivitsky" and Levine assure us, loyal patriots who were framed by Hitler's Gestapo at the request of Stalin. The defendants at the Moscow trials confessed not because they were guilty but in order, "by the very vehemence of their confessionals," to inform the world that they were innocent. And Soviet efforts to forge a united front against aggression are mere maneuvers to screen Stalin's real aim: an alliance with Hitler.

Unfortunately, however, for "Krivitsky" and Levine, history does not operate in this perverse "through the looking glass" fashion; and history—world events—completely refutes them and exposes the nature of their fabrications.

Take the Barcelona uprising, for example. "The fact is," write "Krivitsky" and Levine in their first article in the April 15 issue of the *Post,* "that the Barcelona outbreak was a conspiracy successfully carried off by the OGPU." And further: "After the bloodshed in Barcelona, the Spanish Communists led by Diaz demanded the suppression of all other parties and of the trade unions in Catalonia." Here is what the *New Republic* (May 10) had to say about these inventions:

> Leaving aside the facts that neither the trade unions nor the other parties in Catalonia were ever suppressed (except for the POUM *after it publicly accepted responsibility for the revolt*), and that there is no record of the Communists making any such demand, which would have been directly contrary to their Popular Front policy, we wonder why it is that the POUM and some of the Anarchists played into the hands of the OGPU. Their leaflets, newspapers, and magazines had for a long time covertly—and in the case of the POUM sometimes overtly—demanded revolt: "Turn the guns the other way!" [Italics ours—EDITORS.]

The rest of this article, entitled "Stalin's Hand in Spain," is similarly factual. "General Krivitsky" claims to have been in the thick of OGPU work in Spain, yet he does not even know the membership figures of the Communist Party, a matter of public record. He states that five years after the establishment of the republic, that is, in 1936, there were only three thousand Communists in all Spain. The fact is that at the time of the People's Front election victory in February 1936, the membership of the Communist Party was thirty thousand. To show the dastardly character of Soviet aid, "Krivitsky" and Levine declare that the Soviet planes which helped save Madrid in November 1936 were, on Moscow's instructions, not permitted to land in Barcelona out of fear that the Catalans would keep them. This despite the fact that the Catalans "were then desperately holding one of the most vital sectors of the loyalist front against fierce attacks from Franco's army." A consultation of newspaper files is sufficient to show that in November 1936 the Catalan front was completely quiet; the fierce attacks by Franco were being concentrated on Madrid.

"Krivitsky" and Levine place Soviet aid on the same plane with the Hitler-Mussolini invasion and use the same line of attack on this aid as the Hitler and Hearst press. But liars inevitably get caught in the net of their own inconsistencies. While maintaining that Soviet assistance was for the purpose of "creating in Madrid a vassal of the Kremlin," they admit in an unguarded moment: "Dr. Negrin saw the only salvation of his country in close cooperation with the Soviet Union." To admit this, as NEW MASSES pointed out editorially in its April 25 issue, is "to explode the whole argument that Negrin was a Stalin stooge and that cooperation with the Soviet Union meant converting Spain into 'a vassal of the Kremlin.'"

MORE CONTRADICTIONS

Seven weeks passed between the publication of the third and the fourth article, which is entitled "Why Did They Confess?" Our Philadelphia correspondent was informed that Levine's first version of this concluding piece was rejected by the *Post* on the ground that it was too mystical. What they finally accepted was pretty terrible. "Krivitsky" and Levine insist, of course, that the Trotskyites and Bukharinites who confessed to treasonable acts and espionage for fascist powers were completely innocent and were loyal to the Soviet regime. And then they leave themselves wide open with the statement that all that the oppositionists in the Bolshevik Party "needed was leaders, men with a tradition behind them, and a program, and they could overthrow Stalin. There were no such leaders except among the Bolshevik Old Guard, the colleagues of Lenin, whom Stalin had been breaking down for years by compelling them to capitulate and 'confess their mistakes,' and acknowledge him as the 'infallible leader.'" (Most of those whom they call the "Bolshevik Old Guard" repeatedly opposed Lenin during his lifetime.) "Krivitsky" and Levine then attempt clumsily to squirm out of the implications of their statement. "Notwithstanding these capitulations," they continue, "which had been repeated until nobody believed in them, these old Bolsheviks became, almost against their will, the spokesmen and figureheads, even if not the leaders, of this new opposition from outside the party."

"The spokesmen and figureheads, even if not the leaders . . ." Men like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, and Rykov were merely futile daydreamers, opposed to the Soviet government, but doing nothing about it. A tale for little children and big fools, but we do not believe there are many readers of the *Post* in either category.

In their second and third articles "Krivitsky" and Levine develop their major thesis: that the USSR is working for an alliance with Nazi Germany. They link the execution of the eight generals with the plans for this putative alliance. "Stalin executed Marshal Tukhachevsky and his associates as German spies," write "Krivitsky" and Levine in the *Post* of April 22, "at the very time that he was on the eve of closing a deal with Hitler resulting from months of secret negotiations." Throughout the article Stalin is constantly on the verge of concluding this alliance. "In April 1937, with the arrival of Kandelaki in Moscow, Stalin was confident that the deal with Hitler was as good as consummated . . . He now knew that he had no immediate attack to fear from Germany. The road was clear for the purge of the Red Army."

More than two years have passed. And still there is no sign of the deal with Hitler which was "as good as consummated" in April 1937. The only potential alliance that is in the offing is one with Britain and France *against* Nazi aggression. But this is only a trifling discrepancy for Messrs. "Krivitsky" and Levine, and they don't bother explaining it. Nor do they stop to explain why it should be necessary for one party to an alliance to kill off any of its generals. Has Italy executed its generals because it has no immediate attack to fear from Germany?

THOSE STUBBORN FACTS

In the third article, entitled "Stalin Appeases Hitler," we learn that "From the very beginning of the Hitler dictatorship, Stalin pursued a policy of appeasement toward the Third Reich." In attempting to prove this, "Krivitsky" and Levine are faced with the very real problem that all the facts prove the opposite. Ever since the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship the Soviet Union has been in the forefront of efforts to prevent and curb Nazi aggression, so that today even Chamberlain and Bonnet are compelled to grant, halfheartedly, the indispensability of the USSR in any serious attempt to bar further acts of international banditry. As for Soviet-German trade, it declined sharply in 1938, and Germany, which before Hitler occupied first place in Soviet foreign commerce, is today in seventh place.

Facts are stubborn things, but apparently not too stubborn for such prestidigitators as "Krivitsky," Levine, and the editors of the *Post.* They try to obliterate the fact of the decline of Soviet-German trade by quoting figures of credits allegedly extended by Germany to the USSR—in 1935. As for Soviet foreign policy, unable to deny the facts of Soviet efforts to create an anti-aggression front, "Krivitsky" and Levine declare that all of these were surface maneuvers which "were intimately connected with his [Stalin's] subsurface operations. Stalin's underground maneuvers had one aim: To anchor his ship of state in the waters of Germany." In other words, in order to form an alliance with Hitler, Stalin is trying to form an alliance against Hitler! It must be true—"Krivitsky" and Hearst's Isaac Don Levine say so.

In order to bolster up this too transparent fable "Krivitsky" and Levine decide to do some quoting from Soviet sources. And this is really their undoing. So long as they confine themselves to their E. Phillips Oppenheim tale of intrigue and foul play, there may be a considerable number of readers who may be innocently taken in. But when they decide to falsify Soviet documents which are available in English translation for all to read, they catch, above all, themselves. As is well known, the Soviet Union established close relations with the pre-Hitler Weimar Republic and sup-

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ported its opposition to the Versailles Treaty. In an effort to show that the USSR adopted the same attitude toward fascist Germany as toward democratic Germany, "Krivitsky" and Levine quote a speech by Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, delivered on Dec. 28, 1933, before the Congress of Soviets. Here is the quotation as given by "Krivitsky" and Levine compared with the actual text (parts omitted by "Krivitsky" and Levine appear in italics):

"Krivitsky"-Levine Text

Our relations with Germany have always occupied a distinct place in international relations. . . . The Soviet Union has no cause on its part for any change of policy toward Germany.

Actual Molotov Text

Our relations with Germany have always occupied a distinct place in international relations. *Remaining true to its principles, the principles of defending universal peace and the independence of the country,* the USSR has no cause on its part for any change of policy toward Germany. *However, the ruling groups in Germany have, during the past year, made a series of attempts to revise relations with the Soviet Union. Tendencies of this kind can easily be discerned, so to say, with the naked eye. There is no need to dwell upon the statements of Herren Rosenberg, Hugenberg, and others, about which enough has been said and written already. One thing is clear to us, namely, that until recently the friendly relations between the USSR and Germany were based upon their desire for peace and for the development of economic relations. To these principles we have remained entirely faithful to this day. Only in the pursuance of these principles did we see the power of the political and economic cooperation between the USSR and Germany, cooperation in the interests of both countries and of general peace. On the other hand, the policy of the ideologists of bellicose National Socialism, such as Rosenberg and others, is directly opposed to this. Inasmuch as this policy is saturated through and through with reactionary aspirations and imperialist plans of conquest, it is incompatible with the consolidation of friendly relations with the USSR.* [Stalin, Molotov, Litvinov: *Our Foreign Policy,* pp. 13-14.]

In other words, far from saying that everything remained the same as it had been before Hitler came to power, Molotov insisted that the aggressive expansionist policy advocated by leading Nazis made impossible friendly relations with the Soviet Union. By similar omissions of pertinent passages "Krivitsky" and Levine distort a speech by Litvinov at the same congress and by Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in January 1934.

It is significant that—with one exception—these "gangsters of the pen" confine their quotations from official Soviet statements on foreign policy to the years 1933 and 1934. In that period the Nazi regime had not yet embarked on a course of active aggression and had not yet forged the axis with Italy. It was not till the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 and the German militarization of the Rhineland in March 1936, that aggression proper began. The statements of Soviet leaders regarding Germany and Italy were, therefore, necessarily milder in 1933 and 1934 than they are today. But even at that time the Soviet Union did all in its power to prevent those acts of aggression which were in process of preparation. It was the Soviet Union which at the 1933 Disarmament Conference proposed, in the words of Molotov, "to conclude a pact directed against the aggressor, directed against the instigators of war." And when the Disarmament Conference sidetracked the Soviet proposal, the USSR proceeded to conclude non-aggression pacts defining the aggressor with Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. These, too, are among the facts not mentioned by "Krivitsky" and Levine.

There is only one official Soviet statement on foreign policy after the year 1934 which "Krivitsky" and Levine do refer to: Stalin's report at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party on March 10 of this year. Assuming that no one would check up on them, they shamelessly falsify what Stalin said. They write: "The world was astounded at Stalin's friendly overtures to Hitler." And: "He [Stalin] displayed such remarkable good humor toward Hitler that it came as a shock to world opinion."

STALIN'S REPORT

Stalin's report has been issued in English by International Publishers under the title *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union. It contains not one syllable that can by the wildest stretch of the imagination be interpreted as "friendly overtures to Hitler" or "good humor toward Hitler."* On the contrary, it brands Germany, as well as Italy and Japan, as an aggressor state and declares that a new imperialist war has already been unloosed by the military bloc of aggressors. At the same time Stalin sharply criticized the capitalist democracies, particularly Britain and France, for pursuing a policy of appeasing Hitler with concessions at the expense of other states. In unequivocal language Stalin outlined the four-point policy of the Soviet Union. Point three of this policy reads: "We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country." Little comfort for Hitler in that. And these words are supported by Soviet deeds.

From all the above it is clear that Ginsberg-Krivitsky, Levine, and the *Saturday Evening Post* have attempted to foist on the public a series of crass falsehoods and libels regarding a power friendly to the United States. Their fabrications have a political purpose. That purpose is evident from a United Press dispatch from Berlin on May 9 which revealed the source of the propaganda about a Soviet-Nazi alliance. The dispatch stated:

Rapidly spreading rumors of an impending German-Soviet reconciliation, circulating with the obvious consent of the German government, were regarded tonight as a Nazi attempt to thwart a "peace front" agreement between Moscow and London.

In this country the Krivitskys and Levines spread similar propaganda in an effort to prevent that collaboration between the United States and the USSR which is so essential for the maintenance of peace and the protection of American interests. And naturally they find a ready welcome in the pages of the anti-New Deal *Saturday Evening Post* which, while attacking President Roosevelt's foreign policy, has repeatedly sought to whitewash Hitler's. The brand of scoundrelism which the *Post* has attempted to palm off is well known. Its most expert practitioner is one Paul Joseph Goebbels. The American people have demonstrated time and again that they want none of it, even when it sells for only 5 cents.

Artists' Pamphlet on WPA

ONLY two days after a delegation from the American Artists Congress had placed in the hands of every United States senator a copy of the congress' pamphlet defending WPA (cartoons from which were reproduced in last week's NEW MASSES), assurances of support were received from President Roosevelt and a number of senators, including Downey of California, Capper of Kansas, and Murray of Montana.

In an attempt to secure the widest possible distribution of this nickel pamphlet, which is a model in graphic appeal, the American Artists Congress is offering a special discount to organizations on a minimum order of twenty-five copies. The pamphlet, which is eight and a half by eleven inches, contains twelve cartoons by nationally known artists, A. Ajay, Maurice Becker, A. Birnbaum, Victor Candell, R. D. Fitzpatrick, Hugo Gellert, William Gropper, John Groth, William Hernandez, Herb Kruckman, Jack Markow, and Anton Refregier. Orders should be addressed to the ACA Gallery, 52 West 8th St., New York City.

Our Fink Ambassador

THE mortal remains of Walter Hines Page are surely turning bright green with envy at the actions of his successor to the Court of St. James, the Hon. Joseph P. (Fink Book) Kennedy. Commenting on the treacherous didoes of this New Deal backstabber, Count Sforza writes in the French *Depeche de Toulouse* (a most conservative paper):

In his intimate conversations with the Germanophile clique which inspires the *Times* (of London), Mr. Kennedy uses language which is not merely defeatist, but anti-Rooseveltian. Carried away by his pro-Franco sentiments, Mr. Kennedy, an ardent Catholic, who wrongly believes that in this way he is serving the interests of his church, goes so far as to insinuate that the democratic policy of the United States is a Jewish production, but that Roosevelt will fall in 1940.

Washington papers, please copy.

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French Socialist Leaders Appease Hitler

Richard Goodman gives the inside story of the Paulfaurists' sabotage of the People's Front. M. Bonnet says, "It was well worth the expense."

Paris.

HERR KARL MEGERLE is the diplomatic correspondent of the Nazi *Berliner Boersenzeitung*. Recently he turned his attention to the results of the Nantes congress of the French Socialist Party and the Southport conference of the British Labor Party. He got quite excited when he realized how things had gone.

Interesting in these two congresses [he writes] was the drive to point out that anti-fascism is not a policy and that one day its home and foreign consequences may spell ruin. Especially at the Nantes congress, the Paul Faure group tried for the second time to get away from the anti-fascist obsession. It admitted that the economic policy of the totalitarian states certainly does not serve capitalism, that Hitler's speech of April 28 expressed reasonable ideas, that Germany is driven to expand its economic structure, and that the slogans "Fascism Is War," "Slavery or Death" are just mischief-making. Maintenance of peace must be placed above everything else even at the cost of an agreement with the totalitarian states. There is always talk about armaments, but never about negotiations with Hitler. Similar ideas were heard at Southport.

Megerle then quoted "Labor's own" *Daily Herald* as saying that only the British Labor Party is capable of "settling" Germany's and Italy's "reasonable demands" and went on to make an open offer of an alliance between Nazi Germany and those elements in the British and French labor movements who oppose working-class unity, resistance to fascism, the establishment of a peace front of collective security.

BRITISH LABORITE CHANCES

In secret talks British Laborites have often assured us, he continued, that a much broader foreign policy could be reached with them than with the leader Bevin when he tries to prevent the Labor Party's being dragged into war for the London, Amsterdam, and New York stock exchanges, because, just as in 1914, it is not a question of democracy, freedom, and justice, but of Egypt, Irak, and petrol. Only we do not believe that the Labor Party has any chance of coming to power as long as it pursues such a narrow foreign policy, so contrary to its custom and interests that it no longer represents its own policy.

He concluded by calling on British and French Socialist leaders to take up the struggle against "chauvinists, capitalists, and Bolsheviks," which will provide the best platform at home and abroad.

Megerle's rather indiscreet commentary, taken together with Lord Halifax's recent declaration that the British government is willing to consider the problems of Nazi "vital space," with Chamberlain's announcement that he is ready to negotiate with Hitler "around a conference table" and with Daladier's plea for an "economic" settlement in his speech to the Radical Party Executive, throws a flood of light on the conferences of Europe's two main socialist parties.

In brief, we can say that the Nantes and Southport gatherings have clearly shown that a section of the leadership of European Social-Democracy—that section most violently opposed to unity of the working class—is not only acting in direct accord with the "appeasers" in the British and French governments but in a way absolutely consistent with the aims of international fascism in general and of German fascism in particular.

Let us begin with Nantes.

There is a story going around Paris to the effect that when Georges (Lazard Freres) Bonnet, "appeasing" French foreign minister, was asked what he thought of the decisions taken at Nantes, he rubbed his ankle with his nose and said: "It was well worth the expense."

BONNET PAYS THE BILLS

That is the story. Its truth is unimportant. But what is true is that Nantes was a victory for the anti-Communist, anti-resistance partisans of General Secretary Paul Faure, whose recently started weekly paper, ironically called *Pays Socialiste* (Socialist Land) *is paid for entirely out of Bonnet's secret funds.*

The reactionary press made no effort to hide its joy at the Nantes sessions. *Le Temps* wrote: "It is not a matter of indifference that socialism is separating itself from the dangerous Bolshevik war-spirit."

Others, hitting the same note, urged the Paulfaurists to go further ahead with their "violent anti-Marxist offensive," while the special correspondent of the *Petit Journal*, daily paper of Count de la Rocque's fascist French Social Party, declared his complete satisfaction at hearing one of Faure's supporters adopting, as he said, entirely and without reserve, the platform of de la Rocque.

It is true, of course, that some papers thought it necessary to add that the violent attacks on the Communists were not perhaps quite timely when France is in such need of an alliance with the Soviet Union. But surely the fact that these attacks were made points to the significance of the Paulfaurist attitude on the one hand and of the pathetic showing of the supporters of Leon Blum on the other.

What were the issues at Nantes?

In the first place there was the question of whether the position on foreign policy adopted by a majority at the Montrouge assembly—in favor of resistance to aggression—was, in this critical period, to be confirmed.

In the second place there was the question of whether, as an indispensable necessity going along with a foreign policy of resistance to aggression, the unity of the French working class and popular forces would emerge stronger after the Nantes discussions.

A third issue, that of the Permanent Administrative Council (executive body) of the party, involving the question of who was to control the party machine, was, of course, closely linked with these two major questions.

Except on the very minor issue of the policy of the party's daily paper, *Populaire,* the Paulfaurists won all the points, thanks mainly to the clever but utterly unscrupulous tactics of Paul Faure and the equally weak and mistaken tactics of Blum and his friends.

Here is what happened:

1. A motion prohibiting members of the party from belonging to such united mass organizations as the People's Aid, the "Paix et Liberte" movement, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Women's Movement against War and Fascism, etc., on the pretext that they are Communist-controlled, was adopted by 5,490 votes to 1,771, with 254 abstentions;

2. A compromise motion on general foreign and domestic policy, paying lip service to the peace front, advocating an economic share-out with the fascist powers and, to all intents and purposes, ignoring the necessity of anti-fascist unity, was adopted by 6,395 votes to 565 for a motion by Zyromski—who alone of all the leaders stood by the text of Blum's original resolution—and to 446 for two other resolutions tabled by "integral pacifists" of a decided Trotskyist tendency (who, nevertheless, work very closely with Faure). There were 153 abstentions;

3. The former Permanent Administrative Council, which was hopelessly divided and unable to give any leadership whatsoever to the party, was reelected with the addition—on Faure's insistence—of two Trotskyist-pacifists, i.e., the Faure group was actually strengthened.

Originally Blum and his friends had tabled a resolution on general policy which, although inadequate in a number of ways, nevertheless contained good arguments in favor of resisting aggression. If Blum had wished it, this resolution could and would have been carried by a large majority against the camouflaged Munichois resolution of the Paulfaurists. For the fact is that since Munich many of the pro-Munich elements in the French Socialist Party have changed or begun to change their attitude and, while in many cases still maintaining that there was no other policy possible in September, are today in favor of some form of resistance to aggression. But, as Zyromski pointed out, Blum and his friends made a very grave tactical mistake which cost him the day. Instead of standing up to the challenge of the Munichois, anti-

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Communists and Trotskyist-integral pacifists, he and his men pursued in relation to these people a policy of "appeasement" which they condemn in foreign affairs.

The result was that the Nantes congress was a veritable Munich for Blum and his friends and will have as disastrous results within the party as the September Munich has had in Europe.

BOGY OF A SPLIT

Faure, however, pursued an altogether different policy. Taking the offensive right from the start, he demanded that his oral report —which the Executive had decided he was not to make to the congress—should be made. Making this a major issue, he created a situation in which the bogy of a split in the party was used successfully to blackmail the bewildered delegates in giving way.

Blum himself put up hardly any fight at all and, after gaining one very minor concession —the deletion of a paragraph—yielded pitifully. The result was that Faure's report—a diatribe against unity with the Communist Party and in favor of conciliating fascism internationally—was adopted.

From that point on it was obvious that Faure, having gained a decisive lead, was out to keep it. Blum could, of course, have counter-attacked and reversed the position but when the discussion arose on Socialist membership of "outside organizations," he was out of the fight altogether, ill. Not only did his followers not fight, except on points of procedure, but Blum himself did not send one word to the conference. The impression was thus created among large numbers of the delegates that he had lost interest, and once again Faure got his way.

It is, of course, true that the "unity of the party" was formally maintained as a result of the six months' "truce" agreed on. But actually it need never have been in question if Blum and his friends had conducted a strong offensive to disperse the confusion created by their opponents and to state the real issues with absolute clarity. By so doing they would have isolated Faure and his cronies and strengthened the party all round.

As it is there can be no doubt that the six months' "truce" will see a rapid disintegration of the party—providing reaction with another opportunity to intensify its campaign on "the failure of Marxism." Delegate after delegate told the congress of "the unrest which exists in the branches and the demoralization among the militants." But Nantes did nothing to allay this unrest. One delegate told the congress of "the unrest which expalling paralysis of the Socialist parliamentary group.

And while unity with the Communists is refused, while anyone who cooperates with Communists in an organization outside the Socialist Party will be threatened with expulsion, individuals like the ex-minister Brunet, who, as one of Bonnet's men, is sent on "diplomatic missions" and under cover of these highly suspicious "missions" works with the Nazis, will retain their membership.

The Nantes congress has thus endangered the very existence of the French Socialist Party and, in consequence, the whole future of the French working class and of France itself.

That is why the Central Committee of the French Communist Party has addressed to the Socialist Party Permanent Administrative Council a letter in which it proposes to call a meeting of the Coordination Committee between the two parties to discuss the situation.

This letter declares:

> By our common action we can and we must ensure the carrying out of a resolute policy to maintain the territorial integrity of France, to defend our political independence against all attacks, and to ensure the rights and liberties of our colonial peoples.
>
> By our common action we can and we must insist that the French government resist violence with the unshatterable will to resistance and coalition of all peace-loving forces.
>
> By our common action we can and we must fight victoriously against the injustices of the decree laws, knowing well that the workers and peasants agree to share in a common sacrifice but demand equality in the distribution of the heavy demands made on the country as a result of the external threats.
>
> By our common action we can block all attempts to destroy our democratic institutions and ensure that they function normally.

If, the letter continues, unity of action is necessary on a national scale, it is no less necessary on an international scale. That is why the Communist International has proposed to the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions that there be held an international labor conference against fascism and war.

SOLACE TO THE APPEASERS

The success of Faure and his followers at Nantes has created a situation which cannot but strengthen those in the British and French governments who are even now planning a new and greater Munich, an "economic Munich," which, even though it may never come to anything, will in no way assist in the defense of world liberty and peace.

But the Faure tendency is not peculiar to the French Socialist Party. The same tendency was manifest in the Southport conference of the British Labor Party—especially, as Nazi commentator Megerle has noted, in the speech of Ernest Bevin. About this in a second dispatch.

RICHARD GOODMAN.

Japanese Culture Totters

A RECENT session of the Japanese Cabinet was plunged into gloom by the lachrymose report of Gen. Sadao Araki, minister of education, who wondered "if Japanese culture would not be gone by the time the Chinese conflict is terminated." It seems that the general bought his small son a pair of staple-fiber stockings, a cotton substitute made necessary by the demands of the war machine. In three hours the kid had worn huge holes in the socks and papa told him to be less rough in his play. A new pair was purchased and the boy walked very carefully. But, alas, the new pair evaporated just as quickly. General Araki asked the views of the ministers on the matter but no one could remedy the situation. A nationwide outbreak of Achilles' heel threatens to demolish Japanese cultural life, in the opinion of the general.

Give Them a Medal

The railroad barons deserve decorations from Hitler.

FOR its "campaign which contributes most to the advancement of advertising as a social force," the Association of American Railroads won the leading "medal award" for 1938 in the above classification. As quoted in the magazine *Advertising and Selling*, February 1939, the objectives of this campaign were, in part, "to remove the impression that railroad management is unprogressive or incompetent. . . ."

Here is a sample from the railroad campaign, which cost hundreds of thousands of dollars: silhouetted against the evening sky, a brakeman is waving his lantern from the top of a freight train, while in large display type is the slogan "It's Your Future as Well as Ours." If you remember, this campaign came out at the same time the railroad operators were attempting to force a wage cut on their employees—and what the medal-award copy left out, of course, is that a wage cut is not a very rosy future.

The workers on the railroad were not impressed by this campaign to "remove the impression that railroad management is unprogressive or incompetent," for they voted a nationwide strike should the wage cuts go through. The cuts did not go through, and the railroads did not collapse, as predicted. What the monopolists got for all their hundreds of thousands of dollars, however, was a medal.

Some of the reactionary elements within the railroad operators—not the Association of American Railroads as such—have developed a new tactic, one which first blossomed in America during the recent New York elections—a tactic which undoubtedly will be used nationally in the 1940 elections. This is the tactic of Jew-baiting.

Mouthed by foremen and "spotters" on the job, a whispering campaign of Jew-baiting and filthy slander is circulated in the shops, through the yards, and on the roads. "Governor Lehman is a powerful banker and a Jew," it was whispered about. "That's why the Communists are supporting Lehman." The fascist-minded elements within the railroad capital lost again in their "campaign which contributes most to the advancement of advertising as a social force." In fact, they did not even get a medal, although they are in line for one—like Ford and Lindbergh—straight from Hitler.

GEORGE KAUFFMAN.

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No Isolation for Our Founding Fathers

Collective security made possible our American independence. Agreements with France and other countries achieved victory for the American Revolution.

THE foreign policy of the American Revolution had two essential objectives: the formation of military and financial alliances with European powers, particularly France and Spain, and the diplomatic "encirclement" of Great Britain. Both objectives were part of a calculated policy, which the Founding Fathers adopted as necessary to win the Colonies' struggle for national independence. The leaders of the revolution were practical men, who realized that success lay in using the contradictions in European politics, playing off France against England, as well as getting help from whatever powers were willing to help.

Such a policy, of course, spelled involvement in the corrupt diplomacy of eighteenth-century Europe, but even Prof. Samuel Bemis, an isolationist historian, is compelled to write that the members of the Continental Congress "looked upon such involvement as a matter of course, an ineluctable turn of fate." One delegate from North Carolina, writing to a friend, Feb. 14, 1776, commented that "the consequence of making alliances is perhaps total separation from Britain, but without something of that sort we may not be able to provide what is necessary for our defense." This delegate's attitude was that of Congress, which the previous November had instituted the American Committee of Secret Correspondence "for the purpose of corresponding with friends in Great Britain, Ireland, *and other parts of the world.*" (My italics.—S. P.)

Fully eight months before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the committee instructed Arthur Lee in London to find out how the foreign powers felt about the Colonies. Benjamin Franklin asked Charles Dumas at the Hague to discover "if possible, the disposition of several courts with respect to assistance or alliance, if we should apply for the one, or propose for the other." Preparing the ground for an alliance with France, Franklin sent Don Gabriel of Bourbon a copy of the proceedings of Congress when l[illegible] to thank him for a fine edition of Sallu[illegible]while, in January 1776, Congress dis[illegible]d Thomas Story to France on a secret r[illegible]o investigate the possibilities of an al[illegible]ice, and in March of the same year Silas Deane was sent there to arrange for the purchase of munitions.

The members of Congress were well acquainted with the bitter rivalries of Europe. France was perfectly willing to take advantage of a Colonial revolt to undermine English hegemony. Vergennes, the French foreign minister, was anxious to repair French prestige and to increase French commerce, both seriously impaired as a result of the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Spain, bound to France by the Family Compact of 1761, wanted Portugal, Minorca, and Gibraltar, and felt she had a chance to get them with England's attention diverted to the New World.

France, it was recognized, was the most absolute monarchy in Europe, yet the contradictions within French society were such that Franklin, Deane, and Lee were able to take advantage of the public sentiment in favor of natural liberty and republican virtue to finally effect an alliance. Through Vergennes, the commissioners were able to coax and push Louis XVI into helping, because he wanted to embarrass England.

In his famous "Letter to the American Workers," Lenin honored the realism of the American revolutionists. "In its difficult war for freedom," he wrote, "the American people, too, made 'agreements' with one group of oppressors against the other for the purpose of weakening oppressors and strengthening those who were struggling in a revolutionary manner against the oppression—in the interest of the oppressed masses."

The nub of American foreign policy is contained in the famous "Plan of 1776." Early in the summer of 1776, after France had recognized Colonial belligerency and, un-

A. Redfield

"War-monger!"

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officially, was establishing the means to provide arms through Beaumarchais' trading company, the Continental Congress appointed a committee to draw up a plan of treaties with foreign powers. Franklin, John Adams, John Dickinson, Benjamin Harrison, and Robert Morris brought out a report on July 18, which, with some modifications, was adopted as the "Plan" on September 17.

In form, the Plan was a model treaty which our envoys abroad were instructed to try to negotiate with the powers to which they were accredited, although it was written with an especial eye to France. The Plan was a mutual assistance pact. It opened American ports on a most-favored-nation basis, closed first by the North government in the interests of British commercial monopolies and later by Congress under the Non-Importation Agreement. The draft treaty provided for French help in our struggle for independence, and *reciprocally* for us to help France if war should break out between that country and Great Britain. It likewise established the principle of "free ships, free goods," and the freedom of neutrals to trade between port and port of a belligerent.

The significance of the "Plan of 1776" lies in the fact that it marked Congressional willingness to enter into alliances, which benefited and advanced democracy. There were those like John Adams who were isolationists because they were also anti-democratic, just as there were many who opposed the policy of collaboration because France was an absolute monarchy. Both the ultra-right and the ultra-left views merged to combat the course of the revolution. Among those who attacked the French alliance from the "left" was, significantly enough, Benedict Arnold. In our own day we can, of course, find many parallels.

Franklin later recalled that "they had internal opposition to encounter which alone would seem sufficient to have frustrated all their efforts, from those of Tory principles, timid neutrals, and lukewarm friends to the revolution."

As important as the Plan itself are the Congressional instructions to our envoys abroad. Congress listed certain articles of the draft treaty as "musts," others that might be abandoned in a pinch, and a few that might be sacrificed to gain concessions. Conscious of the immense practical advantages to the revolution of assistance in the way of money, men, and arms from Europe, the leaders were disposed to make the most of every contradiction, every crevice in Old World diplomacy.

Meanwhile, the Armed Neutrality was developing, which was to establish an effective isolation of Great Britain. Guardedly at war in 1778 over the Bavarian Succession, Austria and Prussia were brought to terms in May 1779 by Vergennes on a basis which pleased Frederick the Great, and permitted France to pursue her anti-British policy without the threat of disturbance from Central Europe. This paved the way for the Armed Neutrality, or the policy of protected shipping put into force by Russia, Prussia, the Netherlands, and France, which prevented Britain from maintaining control over the seas. This policy continued to the end of the revolution, and was a tremendous help to the Colonists, providing a serious diversion of English strength and concern.

While Armed Neutrality was not foreseen as a possibility in the early stages of the revolution, its leaders seized upon it to strengthen their cause, and skillfully made the best of the embarrassment it caused for their main enemy.

The aims of the foreign policy of the American Revolution were achieved. The alliance with France was signed, after some haggling, after Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga—and by its terms the United States undertook a policy of collaboration.

Faced with a world situation in which the conflict, as far as this country was concerned, lay between progress and reaction, they did not hesitate to make agreements which aided the cause of progress, and which took the maximum advantage of the contradictions in mercantilist-feudal society. The ultimate proof of the correctness of their policy was victory for the revolution. STEPHEN PEABODY.

Pro-Franco Phony

Exposing a fascist "Herald Tribune" contributor.

THE same day the New York *Herald Tribune* carried the horrifying story of Alfred Cope of the American Friends Service Committee, telling of the murderous reprisals of Franco, the paper also published an article by one Robert Davis on "The Future Government of Spain." Mr. Cope, who was one of the administrators of the Quakers' nonpartisan relief, gave an eye-witness account of how Franco's agents had seized foodstuffs sent from America for starving women and children and turned them into Franco's famous Victory bread (sold to the starved victims), rudely shoving the Quakers aside. Mr. Cope estimated that there were a half-million loyalists in concentration camps, that executions were commonplace, and that there were seventy thousand Italians still in Spain despite recent dramatized withdrawals. Robert Davis' Franco propaganda confirms some of this cruel news. He speaks of the period of "pacification," now opening, and of the Franco assertion that "85,000 persons were killed by violence, other than war in Madrid," all of which cases are being investigated by the military courts of the fascist butcher, with what results the reader can well imagine.

Davis admits the anti-democratic character of the coming government. "A nationwide manhood and womanhood suffrage will not be the basis of it. The Spaniard's inexperience in the mechanics of self-government forbids reliance upon a popular electorate" . . . "The peasant mass lacks political sense and experience." Of course, Mr. Davis promises that the sweet by and by will return some kind of democracy to Spain, after the "Reconstruction" period has passed. The people, it seems, "want a republic because their neighbor, Portugal, is a republic and is getting along famously" since Professor Salazar "runs it pretty much as a public service corporation of his own." No mention, of course, of the fact that Salazar is a fascist dictator whose country is getting along so famously that its peasants have about the lowest standard of living in Europe.

Who is this Robert Davis with his hatful of fascist stickum? He claims to be a simple Vermont farmer, that he was a member of the faculty at Middlebury College, and he has written the *Herald Tribune* dozens of articles from this old-fashioned Vermont viewpoint—pro-Franco. Well, Mr. Davis was born in Massachusetts and he has lived in France since 1920, where it was the good fortune of this simple Vermont peasant to marry a woman who owns the vineyards of Chateau Dauzac and Chateau Monbrison in the Department of Gironde. Before this Mr. Davis was a commander of the Red Cross in the "Cossack States," his euphemistic description of his work with the White Guard General Denikin. From this came several books, *Mopping up Bolshevism* and *Diary With Denikin*. Mr. Davis was never a regular member of the faculty at Middlebury but substituted for two half-year terms in the history department. After a recent protest by the college, the *Herald Tribune* has removed from Davis' byline any mention of Middlebury.

The 1937 freshman issue of the *Saxonian*, Middlebury College magazine, published an interview with Davis by students Robert Matteson and Joe Allen. They quoted him as saying that "Spain's sanguinary civil war is not a struggle between fascism and Communism, but a clearing of the stage for the birth of a form of democracy in which the better elements of both capitalism and socialism will be amalgamated." Among other things the article stated:

> His journalistic sensitiveness to political implications and his Yankee sense of *new business in the offing* led him, during the past summer, to *frequent meetings with leaders of the Franco enterprise on both sides of the Spanish border.* [My italics—J. G.]

The article concluded by quoting Davis as follows:

> Although I don't feel adequately informed to take sides [sic!] I believe, from what I have found out, that were my country beset by difficulties similar to those in Spain, *I would attempt in my small way to do for my country what Franco is doing for his country.*

This is the eminent patriot whom the *Herald Tribune* — which found the Dies committee revelations concerning fascist and anti-Semitic activities so terribly funny— maintains on its payroll as one of its star contributors. JOHN GREENE.

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Our Telegraph Monopoly

Douglas Ward, second v.p. of the Telegraph Division of ACA, shows what is happening to workers in our biggest monopoly.

ELECTRICAL communications are the nerve system of our complex modern society. In the United States there exists the most extensive and highly developed telephone, telegraph, cable, and radio system in the world. By wire and through the air it reaches into every city, town, and village in the nation, and into the homes of millions. Under the oceans and through the air it extends from the United States to the remotest corners of the globe.

Vitally necessary to the people in the everyday operation of their social and commercial relations, this widely diffused but at the same time highly integrated communications system is a very important part of the national defense apparatus.

There are some 150,000 workers employed in the system—about 65,000 in Western Union and Postal Telegraph companies, and the remainder in the telephone monopoly. The wages they receive and spend play no small part in the nation's economy. Plainly, anything which threatens to impair the normal functioning of this system, and to reduce sharply the purchasing power of the communications workers, is a threat to the nation's social and national security.

MERGER INEVITABLE

The domestic telegraph and radio-telegraph network, and the international cable and radio-telegraph network which spreads from the United States to cover the world, are controlled by two competing corporations, Western Union and Postal Telegraph. They are moving rapidly toward an uncontrolled merger, the creation of an unregulated monopoly, and through installation of revolutionary new machinery to their goal of "the completely automatic telegraph."

Merger, monopoly, and mechanization are inevitable. Competition from the highly mechanized telephone monopoly and the air-mail service, sharpened cut-throat competition for a lower volume of business among the telegraph carriers, together with mismanagement, profiteering, and the effects of the general economic crisis, have brought about a situation wherein there will not much longer be room for two corporations to exist in the field.

The owners are seeking an uncontrolled merger, an unregulated monopoly, and the use of mechanization to serve only their own profit. In uncontrolled merger, they hope to throw permanently out of the industry at least fifteen thousand workers. With further mechanization, they hope to displace permanently at least another ten thousand workers. The creation of an unregulated monopoly would place them in a position to gouge the public for "installation" and "service" charges, which the telephone monopoly already does but which the competing telegraph companies at present are unable to do.

The creation of such a vast army of unemployed would sharply increase the already overburdened public relief rolls, reduce the national purchasing power, and give the owners the weapon with which to cut wages, increase speedup, and lengthen the hours of those who would be allowed to remain on the job. In the past few years the speed and accuracy of telegraph service have suffered considerably from the unwarranted mass layoffs and part-timing, and the health-destroying speedup, put into effect by the owners. While gouging him for "installation" and "service" charges, an unregulated telegraph monopoly would be in a position to give the small and middle business man whatever brand of service it might choose.

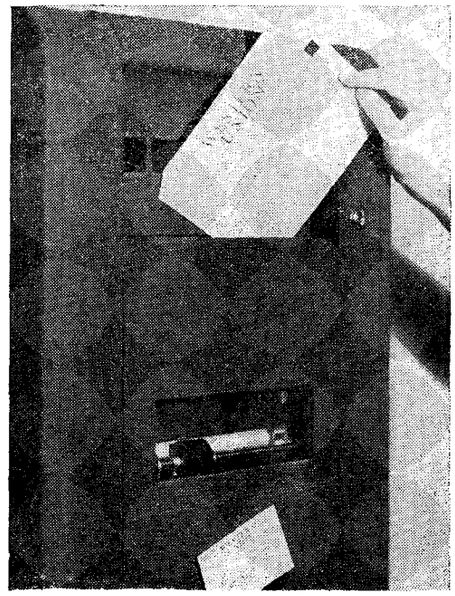
The workers in the industry—through their union, the American Communications Association—demand that the merger be tightly controlled, the monopoly strictly regulated, and that mechanization be used primarily for the good of the public and the industry's workers. They demand further that no merger be permitted unless preceded by a thorough Congressional investigation of the two corporations and their plans, and the advance adoption of remedial legislation.

For themselves, the workers are seeking a reduced work week, minimum wages at least as high as those now prevailing, reduction and control of speedup, guaranteed pension benefits and seniority rights, and bona fide collective bargaining in a union of their own choice. If the owners insist they will not provide full safeguards for the public and the workers, then the telegraph system must be acquired by our government and operated under public ownership.

SENATE MEASURES

The demands of the owners are expressed in the merger bill, recently introduced by Republican Sen. Wallace White of Maine, which would amend the Communications Act in such a way as to allow an uncontrolled merger with no protection for the public or the workers. Outside the halls of Congress the owners are collaborating in steps preparatory to such a merger.

The demands of the workers are expressed in the Wheeler Telegraph Investigation Resolution, *S. Res. 95,* introduced at the request of ACA and recently passed (with the original appropriation of $25,000 cut to $5,000) which calls for a thorough Congressional investigation of the two corporations and for adoption of remedial legislation to protect the public and the workers; and in ACA's efforts to win from Western Union a good union contract. Of all the companies involved in the merger plans, Western Union is the only one not already under contract with ACA, and it is slated to become the monopoly company.



UNEMPLOYMENT THREAT. *This facsimile device can be set up in drugstores or on street corners. The message is transmitted in the sender's own handwriting.*

At hearings before a subcommittee of the Interstate Commerce Committee in Washington, the U. S. Departments of Labor, Justice, Commerce, Navy, and War testified in favor of ACA's stand as expressed in *S. Res. 95.* The Army and Navy Union, representing more than half a million veterans and servicemen, went on record for it, as did the Farmers Cooperative Marketing Association, representing some seventy thousand organized farmers in the Midwest. Many tens of thousands of telegrams, letters, postal cards, petitions, and resolutions poured into Washington from citizens throughout the nation, demanding its adoption. The entire CIO, as well as many AFL and Railroad Brotherhood unions, gave their support. The demand for defeat of the White bill has been as great.

It is important to understand the mechanization program in some detail, not only because of its implications for communications workers, but also because similar plans for similar purposes are becoming common in other industries. It is known that consolidations and mechanizations have displaced about 1,500,000 workers from the railroads and that the roads are now moving toward new consolidations and mechanization. Less publicity has been given to the fact that steel corporations already have begun a program of mechanization intended to displace a very large number of the workers they now employ.

The simple Morse instrument was replaced only a few years ago by the highspeed Simplex and Multiplex telegraph machines, and thousands of Morse operators lost their jobs. Once the new machines were installed, speedup and stretchout methods were quickly developed. Today, the Multiplex operator, who handles

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twice to three times the number of messages per hour formerly handled by the Morse operator, receives little more than half as much pay—and the Simplex operator receives even less. It is common to find in Western Union one Simplex operator forced to work simultaneously three highspeed machines, one on each side of her and one in front. Mass layoffs, part-time work, and split shifts for thousands, inhuman speedup, and wrecked health are characteristic in Western Union—although ACA contracts have corrected these abuses in other companies. Now the Simplex, the Multiplex, and the remnants of Morse are being replaced by new ultra-highspeed machinery—the reperforator, machine switching, and facsimile.

The reperforator can operate at a maximum speed of 480 messages per hour, and merely requires watching by one unskilled attendant. Manned by a very highly skilled operator, the Multiplex—fastest machine now in common use—turns out only slightly more than one hundred messages per hour.

Machine switching, which is used in connection with the reperforator, eliminates the relaying of messages. For example, if Fresno, Calif., has a message for New York, ordinarily it would send it to the relay office in San Francisco, where it might be sent directly to New York or perhaps relayed again through Chicago or another intermediate point. In this way, the message would pass through the hands of from four to eight workers. With machine switching, the message is sent from Fresno and relayed automatically all along the line to New York, passing through the hands of only two workers.

The facsimile, now on display at the New York and San Francisco World's Fairs, resembles roughly, in size and appearance, a mail box. It can be set up anywhere—in drug and cigar stores, even on telephone posts or lamp poles. The customer writes or types his message, places it in a slot, inserts a coin, and the message is transmitted automatically, in his own handwriting if penned.

Faced with merger, monopoly, and mechanization, telegraph workers are plainly justified in demanding, in their own name and in the name of the public, that Congress provide legal protection and that the Western Union Telegraph Co. grant a union contract which will finally seal this protection. 1940 is drawing near. Big business is tightening its monopoly grip on the nation's economic life, trying to destroy progressive social legislation and to prepare for a victory of reaction in the crucial national elections. The people, in order to preserve their living standards and democratic liberties, must of necessity break this monopolistic grip.

DOUGLAS WARD.

Mischa Richter

Rub-a-Dub-Dub! We're ALL in the Tub!

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Death on Doyers Street

Eugene E. Hurley writes a blazing reportage on New York's latest Chinatown fire. Literature for slum landlords.

ONLY two weeks ago the members of the Tom family celebrated the return from China of the youngest member of their clan, sixteen-year-old Master Tom. He had been visiting in China in a town that was about to be occupied by the Japanese and had somehow escaped. If Master Tom had been captured while doing anything "wrong," he would have been tortured to death. But he returned safely to his adopted country and so the Tom family celebrated the event as best a poor Chinese family could.

Today Master Tom is dead. His body lies on a slab in the morgue, burned beyond recognition. He died in unbelievable agony, having been roasted alive in his little coffin of a room in what used to be his "home" at 17 Doyers St. in New York's Chinatown.

Now, if there is any such thing as justice in this aggression-ridden world, the owners of the building at 17 Doyers St. will shortly be decorated with the highest honors by the Japanese army. They should be given the biggest medals the Japanese General Staff has and in addition they surely deserve a pension for life. For, single-handed, they wiped out eight or more Chinese simply by frying them to death in the house which they own in the shadow of the "Bloody Angle" of Doyers Street. In addition, they injured a score of Chinese tenants and American firemen. The whole thing begins to take on the appearance of an "incident." Now, there is nothing so dearly beloved in the hearts of the Japanese army as an incident. Hence the honors for the owners of the building. So if there is any justice in this best of all possible worlds, these two will soon be called upon by a delegation of high Japanese army functionaries and soundly decorated with large Rising Sun ribbons, probably in the presence of honorary delegates from the rest of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis.

The tenants of 17 Doyers St. paid $8 a month apiece for a room the width of a man's outstretched arms and the length of a man's body. If the tenants wanted to take a bath, or wash up decently at all, they had to go across the street to the little Chinese Barber Shop to do so, for there were no bathtubs in the building and only one filthy washbasin to a floor. And then there were the rats; rats so big that a cat would run screaming at the sight of them. That bubonic plague has not broken out in Chinatown is just the eighth wonder of the world.

Of course, there are laws against renting out firetraps such as this as dwelling places. But a good criminal mind can always think of ways to circumvent the law. It's easy. All you have to do is call your tenement house a "club" and you can get by. Therefore, all the tenants of 15-17 Doyers St. were members of a club. What kind of club it was, the tenants—all the poorest of Chinatown's poor, peddlers, news vendors, ragmen, etc.—did not know until dawn on Wednesday, June 21. It was then that they discovered they had been members of Suicide Club all along. Because it was then that one of the sleeping tenants, awakened by the scurrying of fleeing rats, smelled smoke. And it was then that this tenant saw through horrified eyes the curling, licking flames lapping the walls, ceilings, floors, like a huge and hungry snake.

The first tenants to get out were those living on the lower floors. But even as they reached the street, they could hear the howls of agony coming from their less fortunate neighbors on the upper floors, which were now burning like a pile of rubbish that had been doused with kerosene.

And the owners of the building slept soundly in the quiet and safety of their untouchable uptown hotels. . . .

FIREMEN HELPLESS

All Chinatown was up now. There were old men in the crowd of spectators who could remember a fire at the same address away back in 1910. Twenty-eight people were cooked alive in that one. The firemen arrived only to find they could not get their more valuable apparatus into the narrow, twisting street. The aerial ladder trucks stood off helplessly twenty yards away, of no use to the screaming victims who stood at their windows begging someone to help them. Short ladders had to be taken off trucks and carried up to the burning buildings. The firemen did their best and some of the rescue work they did was spectacular. But for the most part all they could do was to prevent the fire from spreading to other buildings and burning down all Chinatown.

A hollow rumble and then a sharp crash was heard inside the buildings. "Listen," a fireman said. "Hear that? The stair beams are falling already. If anybody's up there now they don't stand a chance of getting out alive."

The flames crept still higher. The first of the injured and the dead were carried out. One man, almost burned black, was taken out, still alive. Burned into his side were the grill marks of the fire escape. He looked as if he had been barbecued over an open fire. He lay there very quietly and then the ambulance took him off. It might as well have been the morgue wagon because he died as soon as he reached the hospital.

More of the injured were carried out. Some were moaning a certain phrase over and over again in Chinese.

"What are they saying?" I asked my friend Jimmy, a waiter in a nearby Chinese restaurant.

"They say it hurts too much. They want to die," he told me.

At 7:40 the fire was officially out.

Mayor LaGuardia said: "Some day all of Chinatown will have to be rebuilt."

When my friend heard that he said: "Many years ago there was a fire here. Many people killed. Many buildings burned. My father told me then that they would build a new Chinatown with good buildings for people to live in. My father said they would have bathrooms and running water and good kitchens and that they would be warm in the wintertime." He looked up at me and shrugged. "That was many years ago."

My eyes followed his hand, which was helplessly waving at the steaming slums all around us, pointing them out to me.

"That was many years ago," he repeated, "and many people have burned since then. We still have no new Chinatown."

I asked, "Are many of these buildings Chinese owned?"

"A few. Some of the Chinese landlords are very good to their people. But the banks own most of them. And landlords who live uptown and never come around to see how Chinese people live. A man comes to get the rent and then the landlords don't care until the next rent time."

Up the street a fireman came out of the building with something so black and burned that it was impossible to associate it with a human body. It was a leg. He went back to search in the ruins for the rest of the body.

Later on a fireman came up and said, "It'd be a godsend if this whole place would burn down. They oughta blow it up if you ask me."

"Aren't there laws that force landlords to fireproof these buildings?"

"Well," the fireman said, "we got laws. We got plenty of laws. But these buildings were built before they made the laws so you still can't do anything about 'em. You know what, buddy? I think they oughta make these here landlords come down and fight these fires. Sure. Let 'em get a whiff of a burning body in the nostrils—maybe even smell themselves burnin' sometimes." He laughed. I looked down at his right hand. It was swathed in bandages. "Yeah," he continued. "Let 'em step on a rat as big as a dog and get bitten by it. Let 'em have a beam fall on 'em so they'll be pinned under it until somebody comes and gets 'em—if anybody ever does. Yeah, I say let them guys do the fire-eatin' for a while and see if they don't think different about ownin' buildings like this."

I looked up at the buildings. They stood there, looking like toothless old crones that had just done something particularly evil.

My friend Jimmy said, "Sometimes we Chinese people think the Japanese our only enemy. Maybe now we know we have others . . ."

A rat the size of a dachshund jumped over the threshold of the gutted building. The rats, it seems, always escape unscathed.

The landlords, too, were safe, in their uptown hotels.

EUGENE E. HURLEY.

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New Masses
ESTABLISHED 1911

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$3,860,000,000 Program

THREE features distinguish the President's proposal for the investment of $3,860,000,000 in a long-range program for economic recovery. First, its timing; second, its self-liquidating, extra-budgetary character; and third, the range of its specific provisions.

Clearly, the proposal does not come too soon. Despite the current upturn of business, no forecast for recovery in 1940 is possible without energetic government assistance for the economic mechanism. In view of the temper and composition of Congress, only firm New Deal leadership can hold the progressives together. Coming after the House had passed to the Senate a bill which cripples WPA, only forthright action by the Executive will enable the New Deal to make the opposition fight for a public hearing on its own ground.

These new proposals make no concession to the Republican charge that economic recovery is being hampered by the budget's state of unbalance. Nothing is gained by obscuring the fact that the Republicans themselves are merely using the budget issue to bludgeon the country into appeasement for big business. People know nowadays what follows appeasement.

The dramatic feature of the Roosevelt proposal involves the expenditure of money, raised through the flotation of government-secured bonds by extra-governmental corporations at no expense to the Treasury. This idea is not new. In some respects, it has been employed for some time, and in any case, it should have been employed long ago. In fact, the major governmental expenditures of the last six years should have been considered not only as immediate relief, but as investments for the long-range popular welfare.

The exact distribution of the proposed funds will arouse support from varied and interdependent sections of the people. Items such as $500,000,000 for railroad equipment, $460,000,000 for the completion of a rural electrification program, half a billion for farm tenants, and similar sums for roads, by-passes, municipal improvements, etc., all emphasize the truly national and far-sighted character of the President's leadership. The proposed credits of $500,000,000 to Latin and South American countries will serve to supplement political features of the good-neighbor policy. They really constitute a national insurance policy against fascist penetration from the South. Together with the Mead bill for help to small business, a firm stand for WPA, and realistic measures for the youth, such a program can help the New Deal prepare effectively for 1940.

Naturally, the right-wing press, which reflects the interests of big business faithfully, fidgets and fumes at the idea. The outcry from the New York *Times,* the *Herald Tribune,* and the *Wall Street Journal* reveals just whom the shoe pinches, and conversely, whose interests the New Deal is serving. Significantly also, the Republican attack upon the proposals for financing American trade with sovereign nations in the hemisphere emphasizes just how little the Republicans care for the good-neighbor policy, how little they have at heart the *national interest* of the country.

Progressives will defend and fight for this program, bearing in mind how truly modest are the President's proposals, and how vast the economic frontiers yet to be conquered.

WPA

UNLESS funds are voted within two days after this issue of NEW MASSES appears, the whole machinery of the Works Progress Administration will come to a dead stop. At this writing a Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations is still mulling over amendments to the Woodrum bill, which has already passed the House.

WPA has become part of American life and culture. During the last few years, while the American people have been harvesting the bitter fruits of a half-century of Wall Street control, WPA has been one of the few things to be counted a gain. In addition to its first function of saving millions from the worst consequences of poverty and unemployment, it has completed projects that were never thought of by private industry because they were too large to organize or because they would not bring a quick enough profit. Many of these are summed up in "What America Gets for Its WPA Money" on the facing page. Many more can not possibly be stated in simple figures. The contribution of the Writers Project to American literature will not be estimated by this generation.

The Woodrum bill is not ostensibly designed to kill WPA. But that is what its sponsors want and a good part of it will be done if it passes even in a modified form. It provides a grant of $1,477,000,000, which would mean reduction of work relief by approximately one-third. A minimum figure of $2,250,000,000 has been asked by progressives, whose desires are represented in the Casey-Murray bill calling for that amount. Add a billion dollars to that and you still would not have enough to save America the misery that is stored up in the future. The tories are subtracting almost a billion.

Over and beyond the inadequate appropriation the Woodrum measure has several riders that will achieve in fact what reaction has not been able to put into the wording of the bill. Some of these—the complete abandonment of the theater project; the tricky three-man administration; the earmarking of a large sum for PWA, which does not employ reliefers—have been lopped off in subcommittee. The proposal to fire workers who have been on WPA for eighteen months and the ban on construction projects costing over $50,000 remain.

Isolationist Retreat

IF ANY further evidence were needed of the rapid ebbing of the isolationist tide in this country, it has now been provided by the sharp about-face of two outstanding isolationist newspapers in regard to American policy in the Far East. The New York *Daily News,* which has from time to time published pro-Japanese propaganda, has now come out with a proposal for a joint American-British blockade of Japan, while the New York *Post* urges an embargo against Japan. The *Post's* first embargo editorial appeared on the day that George Backer, American Labor Party councilman, acquired ownership.

Further striking evidence of this trend is contained in a poll on foreign policy conducted by the *New Republic* among its contributors. The *New Republic* has been a vigorous advocate of isolationism and one might expect a majority of its contributors to hold similar views. We agree, too, with Lillian Hellman, one of those who replied, that the magazine's questions were "framed to get isolationist answers." Yet despite this, the replies are overwhelmingly anti-isolationist. Of 154 received, 109 favor some form of aid, economic or military, or both, to Britain and her allies in the event of war, while only forty-five support some form of isolationist policy.

These are straws in the wind. The American people don't want to be partners to fascist aggression. They hold with President Roosevelt that America must be a positive force for peace. Action on this crucial issue

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has already been delayed too long by Congress. The Bloom cash-and-carry bill, amended to permit embargoes against aggressors, represents the minimum of what the American people desire and what the situation imperatively demands.

Fortel's Folly

MR. SIDNEY A. FORTEL of Newark, N. J., like Galileo, Bruno, or Columbus before him, was willing to weather the scoffers at his unique scientific plan for the predetermination of the sex of an expected child. Mr. Fortel had charts on some 150 births and he had hit them all on the nose, until he ventured to prophesy that his own household would be blessed with a son. Mr. Fortel began to foretell in the papers and this, to our view, was his undoing. Captain Patterson of the *Daily News* is an amateur sex-guesser himself, although still in the white rat stage. Naturally the press banded together on the side of their own man and bathed Mr. Fortel in the lurid light of publicity, hoping he would miss. He did. His "son," Howard, turned out a baby girl and the Fourth Estate howled with mirth. We don't know if Captain Patterson was honored at a victory dinner with toasts to the still undefeated champion sex-guesser of the Occident, but we warn him that all his power and dizzy eminence will profit him naught when he gets down to the sweaty task of predicting human babies, the way Mr. Fortel did. Fortel failed the hard way. Patterson's odds will be no better the easy way. The captain can keep his misses out of the papers but science will remember the rash and brave Fortel, who said, "Nature can't do this to me."

Serving Notice on Japan

THE Japanese learned last week that the name of the head of the American government is not Chamberlain. After capturing Swatow, South China port, they ordered all foreign ships out of the harbor. The reply of Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, commander-in-chief of the United States Asiatic Fleet, was to serve notice on Japanese naval and consular officials that American ships would continue to go wherever necessary in order to protect American citizens. In face of this clear warning from the United States, the British too refused to budge. Curiously enough, the Japanese, despite predictions of our top-flight isolationists that a firm stand against aggressors would mean war, did not open fire on the American and British navies. On the con-

What America Gets for Its WPA Money

THOSE who want to save WPA ought to face Congress with these facts and figures. They sum up, as adequately as figures can, the contribution millions of unemployed workers have made to American life. Bridges, dams, schools, hospitals, roads, paintings, music, plays—the tories want to legislate these things out of existence. No talk of inefficiency, no jokes about leaning on shovels can obviate the positive contributions of WPA. Here they are, in the cold figures so dear to the tory heart.

EDUCATION

More than 34,000 teachers on WPA are giving two million adults a better education; 1,494 WPA nursery schools take care of fifty thousand pre-school children. Under WPA one million Americans have learned to read and write, 800,000 attend WPA classes on Americanization; two hundred thousand attend WPA vocational classes. American school children have received 23,000,000 free school lunches served by WPA women.

RECREATION

WPA has increased recreation facilities by 15,500 parks and playgrounds, 696 swimming pools, 357 golf courses, 6,433 tennis courts, 9,328 recreational buildings.

THEATER AND MUSIC

Federal theater units play to an annual audience of twelve million. There are 13,596 performers; 132,243,800 people heard 202,488 concerts by the music project; 9,627 musicians were involved. They played 6,772 compositions, 2,034 of which were by American composers.

LIBRARIES

WPA librarians have catalogued 27,000,000 books; eight thousand new branches are staffed by WPA workers; 29,000,000 books have been renovated; seventy-three new libraries have been built, 654 improved or enlarged; 1,100 traveling libraries carry the luxury of books to remote areas.

BLIND

Over two million pages of Braille have been transcribed by WPA workers. WPA is responsible for the only Braille encyclopedias available in English. There are thirty-nine of these.

ART

American art has gained a wealth of additional work from WPA art projects. Public galleries, community art centers, and public buildings have 3,562 pieces of sculpture by WPA workers; 48,000 easel paintings and 1,345 murals and mosaics are in tax-supported institutions; 84,340 prints, etchings, lithographs, woodblocks, etc., are available for distribution to schools, hospitals, and other public buildings. WPA workers staff sixty-eight community art centers.

ARCHITECTURAL RECORDS

Jobless architects and draftsmen on the American Building Survey have measured and recorded details of 2,300 famous buildings. They have made sixteen thousand drawings and seventeen thousand photographs. These are available for a nominal charge at the Library of Congress.

AIRPORTS

The progress of aviation has been materially aided by WPA. Its workers have constructed 202 hangars, four hundred miles of runways, ten thousand air markers.

RURAL CONSTRUCTION

Rural roads totaling 268,000 miles have been constructed. Work on bridges aggregates 352 miles—or a distance from New York to Youngstown, O. This includes 29,000 new bridges and improvement of 23,000 already standing.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

A total of 65,543 public buildings (including schools, hospitals, etc., mentioned elsewhere on this page) have been constructed; 17,562 have been reconstructed; 46,318 have been repaired or renovated; 1,663 have been added to—new wings, rooms, etc.

SANITATION

Sanitation facilities, since WPA, have been augmented by eleven thousand miles of sewers; 544 sewage plants, 170 water plants, five hundred pumping stations, seventeen hundred storage tanks, eight thousand miles of water mains.

COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT

Urban construction and improvement by WPA includes thirty thousand miles of city streets; 961,000 street signs; eight thousand miles of curbing, eleven thousand miles of sidewalks; 65,000 street lights.

HEALTH

WPA workers have built 101 new hospitals, improved or enlarged 1,460 more; WPA nurses have visited 4,500,000, homes, aided at 900,000 immunizations. Ten million people have been examined and inspected for contagious and infectious disease; 3,500,000 of these were treated. U. S. Surgeon General Parran says: "WPA malaria control activities in the South affects the lives of fifteen million people. Their ultimate value will many times exceed the total of all relief expenditures in that area. The progress of malaria control has been advanced thirty years."

CONSERVATION

Thirty thousand dams have been constructed; 244 fish hatcheries have been built or enlarged; seven thousand miles of stream banks have been improved; 24,000,000 trees have been planted; 15,500 mine shafts have been sealed to prevent pollution of waters; 3,500,000 acres have been cleared of pests.

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trary, Japanese naval headquarters at Swatow issued a statement expressing "appreciation of the American navy's sympathetic attitude [sic!] toward Japanese operations at Swatow." This is face-saving language for: "We're licked."

But in Tientsin it is a different story. The Japanese continue to twist the British lion's tail while the Nazi and Italian press add a few neat kicks in the rear. And Chamberlain continues to be Chamberlain, to talk strong and act weak. Fred Pateman of the London *Daily Worker* writes in a dispatch to the New York *Sunday Worker:* "The key to the British moves in the Japanese blockade of the British concession in Tientsin is to be found in the negotiations for a Far Eastern Munich in progress before the blockade began." Pateman tells of "appeasement" negotiations between British banks and the Yokohama Specie Bank in an effort to arrange "for joint exploitation of the China invasion." Public indignation over the Japanese blockade and the opposition of certain commercial interests have thus far prevented Chamberlain from surrendering completely to Japan.

In Europe too the tory government continues to jeopardize peace and British national interests. On Saturday Chamberlain made another appeasement overture to Germany in a speech at Cardiff, Wales. According to Otto D. Tolischus, New York *Times* Berlin correspondent, "the Germans still confidently expect that the Danzig problem will be solved peacefully and with British help this fall, as the Sudeten problem was solved last fall." Can anyone blame the Soviet Union for demanding an ironclad mutual assistance pact before joining hands with those who rule Britain and France?

The Fifth Youth Congress

DELEGATES representing six million young people will meet at the Fifth American Youth Congress opening in New York on July 1. The congress, which is a federation of youth organizations and is itself affiliated to the World Youth Congress, will stress the economic predicament of the 22,000,000 Americans between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Inter-faith and inter-racial relations, youth's part in government, world peace, education, recreation, the employment and security opportunities for both urban and rural youth, and public health will be prominent on the program.

Emphasis will be placed on an economic program to meet the actualities faced by the age group whose members the congress represents. The Youth Congress, since its founding, has geared itself to an economic plan of action, and in its early days the American Youth Bill was a center of the organization's activity. Today, with a new economic and political situation, the congress will draft a plan adequate to the times. Unemployment and insecurity, with their consequent hazard of fascism, threaten the new generation more than ever before. If federal relief agencies are emasculated by reaction, the problem will become still more acute. Only a bold program of government assistance for jobs and rehabilitation will serve those whose leaders meet next week.

Quick Action Needed

REPUBLICAN reaction—which received a stiff rebuke from the Court of Appeals for its illegal and irresponsible crippling of the New York State budget, and an equally sharp rebuke from Governor Lehman for its attempt to wreck the schools—stands in need of still another setback, this time from the people of the state.

In outlawing the lump-sum budget slashes, the court attacked only the method of making the slashes, not the reductions themselves. The "ax-the-tax" reactionaries still hope to put these cuts through in legal form and thus cripple the work of essential state services such as health and hospitals, and nullify the enforcement of legislation such as the minimum wage law.

Governor Lehman has reopened the question of state aid to education for consideration at the special session of the Legislature. This presents an opportunity to restore the cuts which would seriously curtail the state education system. A similar opportunity is also afforded to restore the reductions in state aid for highway and parkway construction. This is of particular importance for the GOP's upstate constituents since the reduction flies in the face of Republican campaign promises and the Republican platform.

A shift of two votes in the Senate will be sufficient to restore the cuts in that body, while the six GOP assemblymen from New York City should be the first to feel the concerted pressure of their constituents demanding a full restoration of all budget reductions. Special sessions move fast—and so do stooge "taxpayers'" organizations of the economy bloc. The people themselves must move faster.

Declaration of Tolerance

OUR great national holidays are fitting occasions for the celebration and study of basic American principles. Last February the Lincoln's Birthday Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom sponsored public meetings throughout the land to discuss the defense of Lincoln's democratic ideas. And this week, the Council Against Intolerance in America is organizing a nationwide Independence Day Ceremony. The purpose of the ceremony is to reaffirm the principles of tolerance and equality embodied in the Declaration of Independence. An "American Declaration of Tolerance and Equality" is to be adopted at several thousand community celebrations. Key ceremonies of the project will be broadcast from the New York World's Fair and San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition.

At a time when propaganda against Jews, Negroes, the foreign-born, and other minority groups is being spread under the label of a false Americanism, it is inspiring to note that such a broad and truly patriotic ceremony has been arranged. As President Roosevelt declared this week, the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Bill of Rights "are as sacred to us today as they have been to the American people through all the decades since they became part of our national tradition. It is ours to preserve them as our most precious heritage out of the past and to transmit them inviolate to those who are to follow us."

NLRB Revises Some Rules

LAST week the National Labor Relations Board revised two of its rules, the more important revision permitting employers to petition for Labor Board action in cases where two or more rival unions are involved which do not themselves ask for certification. It will be remembered that this was an amendment to the board's rule which Senator Wagner himself thought advisable.

Nothing indicates the habits of mind and the tactics of the reactionaries better than their attitude toward these concessions. For example, the New York *Times* follows up the board's action with a snarl for a thanks, demanding a "fresh examination of the whole problem of labor relations." The *Herald Tribune* asserts that the board's "grudging retreat should not—and there is no indication that it will not—slow up the movement in Congress for a thorough revision of the law and its administrative machinery."

Synchronizing perfectly with the newspaper barrage, Copperhead Democrats have introduced a resolution for an investigation of the Labor Relations Board and all its work. The author of this resolution is the notorious Howard Smith, Democrat of Virginia, a boondoggler of some thirty years' standing and wing-collared poodle to Rep. E. E. Cox of Georgia, who is the evil-eye of the reactionary Democrats and godfather to Mr. Dies.

Clearly, if you give them an inch, they will run a mile. Give them enough rope—and they will hang the Wagner act.

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Misadventures of John Dos Passos

A review of his "Adventures of a Young Man." What the critics think of it and why. A gigantic stride backward for the author of *USA*.

LAST year it was Sinclair Lewis and *The Prodigal Parents*. This year it is John Dos Passos and *Adventures of a Young Man* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., $2.50). Both books are almost inconceivably rotten, and for very much the same reasons. Lewis and Dos Passos had gone around attacking "artists in uniform"; and yet these books were bald political tracts written out of the narrowest sectarian impulse. They had made a great to-do about the integrity of the artist; and yet they built their stories with palpable lies. They had once written progressive books; now they were writing contemptible slanders, nasty, ill-tempered, and hysterical slanders against everything decent and hopeful in American life. Once upon a time they had been concerned about their craft; but now they were turning out sloppy writing, hollow characters, machine-made dialogue, editorial rubber stamps.

Dos Passos has written a crude piece of Trotskyist agit-prop. That's about as damaging a judgment as anyone could make about a writer. But nothing else seems quite accurate. Consider the following example.

On page 291 a muddleheaded myth of a hero named Glenn Spotswood decides to go to Spain. Why? Because he is disillusioned with the Communist Party—"The workers being defeated and murdered everywhere," cries his latest girl friend, "and they won't let us help." Boo-hoo, the wicked Communists won't let anybody help the workers. So Glenn gets even by enlisting. The first question he is asked by the man in the mysterious tenement is "Volunteer or mercenary?"—the distinct implication being that mercenary troops were hired in America to fight with the loyalists. Then Glenn is led into a room, and his guide calls out: "Dr. Wiseman . . . here's another customer . . . right through the curtains, comrade." Customer! Then we meet Dr. Wiseman, who is, according to Dos Passos and General Moseley, wearing "a white Russian tunic"!

"Haha," shouts Dr. Wiseman—and I am still quoting, so help me—"More cannon fodder." Then Dr. Wiseman examines Glenn. The doctor says, with a "rasping chuckle"—the villain—that he would really like to fight, but he has responsibilities: "When you boys come back I'll give you free medical service." He pronounces Glenn "sound as a dollar . . . or ought I to say sound as a Soviet ruble?" And finally: "They were still laughing when Glenn pocketed the two dollars, shook hands, and walked out onto the street again."

When Glenn gets to Spain he meets Saul Chemnitz, who has a "jewishlooking nose"—how Dos Passos hates the "Jewish" Communists—Irving Silverstone, Gladys Funaroff, Dr. Wiseman. It turns out that the only good mechanics in Spain are Trotskyites. Frankie Perez of the POUM—at last, a man whom Dos Passos respects—tells Glenn that "We fight Franco but also we fight Moscow. . . . We have to fight both sides to protect our revolution." Fighting both sides! Dos Passos fails to tell his readers that the POUM was more successful in fighting against the side of the republic because that is what they were out to do with fascist help. At any rate, Glenn is thrown into jail by the horrible Reds, and he is released only because somebody has to carry water to the front. He is shot by the fascists. The gentle lamb is led to the slaughter by the blood-drinking loyalists.

But there is no point in going on with an account of this stuff. It fills almost every page, and it is as painful to describe as it is disgusting to read.

Harry Hansen, book reviewer of the New York *World-Telegram,* recently said that "it will be interesting to see whether the congress [the Third American Writers Congress] will apply literary or political standards" to Dos Passos' novel. This is an utterly fantastic way to pose the question. For this novel vividly illustrates the organic relationship between form and content. The critics are almost unanimously agreed that *Adventures of a Young Man* is a shoddy literary job. Mr. Hansen himself says, for example, that "what I miss in the book is evidence of the mental struggle in Glenn during various stages of his career"—a fairly serious defect in view of the fact that Glenn's development is presumably the theme of the book. Clifton Fadiman of the *New Yorker* had the feeling that by omitting the "childhood experiences, youthful sex contacts, and all the rest of the regulation development-novel paraphernalia"—a good part of the book, in short—Dos Passos could have "saved the reader's time." And even John Chamberlain, who wrote a blurb pamphlet in support of Dos Passos' political line, was forced to admit that this is a "slight" book compared to Dos Passos' trilogy. In a separate box I have included other press comments.

But why should Dos Passos, who has written some of the finest novels of our time, fall down so completely in this novel? His literary failure is very definitely related to his reactionary political orientation. His astonishing distortions of the real world are reflected in an equally astonishing literary crudeness. Glenn's decision to go to Spain—a crucial point in character development—is thoroughly unconvincing because it is motivated by Dos Passos' cynicism rather than by the mature social understanding of the boys

Two of a Kind

"In the career of a novelist, *Adventures of a Young Man* reads like a minor pamphlet."—*Time* magazine.

"*Adventures of a Young Man* is the weakest novel that Dos Passos has written since *One Man's Initiation,* published eighteen years ago."—Malcolm Cowley, in the *New Republic.*

"There are more varieties of the bad novel than of the bad egg . . . it comes about as near to one or two of them as anything we have had from a ranking novelist in years."—Ralph Thompson, in the New York *Times.*

"What Mr. Dos Passos has unfortunately ended up by writing is not so much a novel as a highly sectarian tract. . . . The result is whatever you like, but it is not good art."—Louis Kronenberger, in the *Nation.*

"If *Adventures of a Young Man* is to be the type of his contemporary portraits, they may all be tombstones."—Alfred Kazin, in *Herald Tribune Books.*

"*The Prodigal Parents* is a fatally illiberal book. . . . Mr. Lewis' novel is not just reactionary in its political implications; it is equally anti-intellectual in its whole view of life."—Louis Kronenberger, in the *Nation.*

"The people are caricatures, the plot stumbles, and worst of all, the whole job is hopelessly dull."—*Christian Science Monitor.*

"He has never been less an artist."—*North American Review.*

"Sinclair Lewis' new novel is flat, obvious, and full of horseplay that wouldn't raise a laugh at an Elks' convention."—Malcolm Cowley, in the *New Republic.*

"*The Prodigal Parents* was written to support a thesis, but the thesis breaks down."—J. Donald Adams, in the New York *Times.*

"Mr. Lewis has written a bee-in-the-bonnet book."—The *New Statesman and Nation* (London, England).

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who actually went to Spain. Anxious to attack the Soviet Union, Dos Passos creates a mechanical messenger boy who comes back to report that "In Russia they've starved 'em deliberately." Strongly editorialized conversations are constantly dragged in, and the spaces between sometimes read as if they were regarded by Dos Passos as necessary nuisances. He is in a terrific hurry to give the knockout blow. And the progression of this political story is determined not by the actual social changes taking place in America, but by the odd assortment of women with whom Glenn sleeps. At least Glenn vacillates, even if he does not grow; the other characters are entirely immobile.

Dos Passos has gone sour. It is not merely that he is bitterly and stupidly opposed to the Soviet Union. It is not merely that he misrepresents the battlers for freedom in Spain. He finds nothing that is good anywhere. Ultimately it is not the Soviet Union that he libels, but humanity everywhere. The man who wrote this book is a spiteful observer of life. He trusts nothing but his own contempt. He scorns the truly heroic. His misanthropic vision is incredibly mean in a world where a gigantic struggle is taking place between civilized values and barbarism.

The man, in short, has succumbed to the "philosophy" of Trotskyism, which professionally breeds despair and confusion and division. In political terms it means spiking the republican government of Spain, plotting against the Soviet Union, working with reaction against the New Deal. In literature, it means the glorification of hate, the deliberate opposition of the individual to the masses of mankind, the butchering of sensibility. The gulf between *Adventures of a Young Man* and *The Grapes of Wrath* is the gulf between a retrograde and a progressive vision of life. Fortunately, the great majority of American writers, like the bulk of the American reading public, have chosen the latter. *Adventures of a Young Man* is a sufficient warning and example.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

"Honest Cop"

Lewis J. Valentine, chief of New York City's Police Department.

LEWIS J. VALENTINE, like the fellow in the song, was an honest man. That was why Tammany in its halcyon days hated his guts and broke him as regularly as it could—or dared. His story (*Honest Cop,* by Lowell Limpus; E. P. Dutton & Co., $3) is intriguing to the collector of municipal minutiae and meaningful for all latter-day students of government.

Mr. Limpus definitely abjures social significance. All he has, he insists in his brief foreword, is a story. Lewis Valentine was an ordinary Irish Catholic boy of working-class family who, like thousands of his prototypes, sought economic security and advancement in city employ. While the civil service at the turn of the century was more or less an ad-

Next Week!

The editors of *New Masses* present the following major features scheduled to appear in the coming issue. Next week marks the second anniversary of the war in China.

"China Today and Tomorrow"

MADAME SUN YAT-SEN

Madam Sun Yat-sen, widow of the founder of the Chinese Republic, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, contributes a stirring article written in Hong Kong especially for *New Masses* which graphically recounts the seven-league strides which heroic China is making today—even in the throes of war.

"Two Years of War in the Far East"

PHILLIP J. JAFFE

The managing editor of *Amerasia* and noted authority on the Far East presents a vivid analysis of the two-year struggle waged by the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders.

"The USA and USSR in World Affairs"

EARL BROWDER

The general secretary of the Communist Party contributes a brilliant analysis. In the course of his article the 1936 Communist presidential candidate reveals for the first time how a group of influential Republicans offered the Communist Party a huge bribe to withdraw its 1936 presidential candidate and endorse Franklin Roosevelt!

"Renaissance in Hollywood?"

JOSEPH NORTH

The editor-in-chief of *New Masses* trekked out to the West Coast film studios for a three-week sojourn in Hollywood, film capital of the world. The results of Joe North's first-hand observations appear in the second of a series of two articles which graphically traces the history of the movies back to the days of Lillian Russell and right up through the years to *Juarez.*

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junct of politics, Valentine wasn't a politician. Limpus says:

He had never paid much attention to politics, but had always regarded it as a rather dirty game with which he was not directly concerned, and in which he had no special interest. Of course, he classified himself as a Democrat. He always had. But he accepted his membership in the Democratic Party just as casually as he had accepted his membership in the Catholic Church. People were born Democrats as they were born Catholics—and the nicer kind of people were pretty apt to be born both.

But if Valentine wasn't interested in politics, politics was interested in him, as he later learned. He took the fire and police examinations in 1902, passing them both, but elected to join the police force. He got his shield in 1903, just eleven years after the crusading Rev. Charles Parkhurst swore from his pulpit that the police force "had for its principal object to protect and foster crime and make capital out of it."

As a wide-awake young cop, Valentine saw his share of dirty politics, both in and out of the department, but was apparently untouched by most of it. He took examination after examination for higher grades until he passed for a captaincy. Skipped over year after year by the politicians in charge of the department, he was finally "made" by Commissioner George V. McLaughlin in 1926.

Thereafter life looked good. Promotion followed promotion until he had achieved the position of crown prince of the department, deputy chief inspector. But the Tammany clamor against him was growing. He had been raiding gamblers' dens and had even sledge-hammered his way into the sacrosanct precincts of the Tammany clubhouses to break up high-stake games. This was too much and the leaders raised hell with Mayor Jimmy Walker. In 1927 McLaughlin, disgusted, quit. His successor, Joseph A. Warren, resigned about a year later when he could get nowhere on the Arnold Rothstein murder.

Walker named a new commissioner, debonair Grover Whalen, who promptly broke Valentine. Writes Limpus:

They all knew the story—every one of New York's nineteen thousand policemen was familiar with it; how Grover Whalen, the new police commissioner, had reduced Deputy Chief Inspector Lewis J. Valentine down to captain and transferred him from Police Headquarters, where he had dared defy Tammany Hall's all-powerful political organization, out to the suburban police station on Long Island.

After years in exile Valentine was finally rescued from obscurity by LaGuardia, under whom he learned that more than honesty was needed in dealing with the complex police problems of a great city. That he was an apt pupil was made clear on May 23, 1937, when the police chief made an attack on Queens Borough President George U. (Rubber Hose) Harvey. Speaking at Mt. Neboh temple before twenty-two Jewish patrolmen, he said:

You be careful of the demagogue that appears before you selling something that isn't so. This department cannot be sold. A man running for office this autumn would like to arm you with three feet or four feet of rubber hose and gain office by brutalizing and degrading this department and making it a laughing stock for the entire world.

Strange words from a New York police head! But stranger ones were to come. So-called Communists, he added, frequently staged demonstrations because they were poor, underfed, ill-housed, and often oppressed. "Would we of this department," Valentine demanded, "merit any applause if we turned loose on them with nightsticks or rubber hose? Be careful of the demagogue who preaches that."

Mr. Limpus does not try to give the impression that everything in the New York Police Department is hotsy-totsy, that every man jack in it is free of bigotry or understands elementary civil liberties. But through an accurate portrait of the man now at the head of the department he does show that a coalition of labor and good government forces can affect in a positive direction even a metropolitan police force. Which, in these days of struggle to maintain every democratic position, is no small matter.

S. W. GERSON.

A Marxist Classic

Valuable "New Data for V. I. Lenin's Imperialism."

ONE would in any case welcome a new edition of that socialist classic, Lenin's *Imperialism*. One especially welcomes this new edition *(New Data for V. I. Lenin's Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism,* edited by E. Varga and L. Mendelsohn; International Publishers, $1.60), because of the wealth of well selected and up-to-date material that the editors have provided as concrete illustrations to the main points in Lenin's analysis. This new data is conveniently arranged so as to run concurrently, on the opposite page, with the relevant paragraphs of Lenin's book. At the end one of the editors summarizes this new material and brings out its more important implications in a separate note of some fifty pages.

While none of the data presented is newly discovered or the result of original research or analysis, the collection of so much material from scattered sources and its presentation in this form is an important contribution. To Marxist students it is certain to prove a constant and invaluable source of reference for many years to come. One might mention particularly the convenient tabulation of data concerning the concentration of production for Germany, the United States, France, Japan, and Britain and the up-to-date list of the leading monopoly groups in various industries. The section on monopoly prices, with its figures of recent price movements, on the free market and in monopolized markets, will

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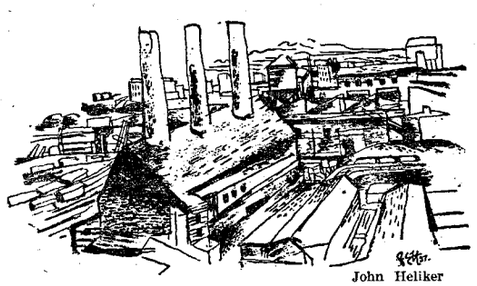
be of particular interest to many. There is also a wealth of financial statistics about banks and their relations with industry, and about export of capital.

The "unevenness of development under imperialism" is lucidly illustrated by a table giving production figures for Britain, Germany, the United States, France, and Japan for various years since 1880 in the case of coal, pig iron, steel, and cotton, and again by a table contrasting the growth of "old" and "new" industries. In a section entitled "Supplementary Data," stress is laid on the chronic excess capacity and under-utilization of resources (with consequently inflated unemployment) which characterizes the post-war period. And Mendelsohn's final note, stressing the increased unevenness of rates of development in recent years, presents an interesting examination of the relative position of the leading capitalist powers:

> The question of the unevenness of the *political* development of the various countries [he writes] which became very much more marked in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, owing to the sharp increase in the unevenness of *economic* development, is worthy of special examination. . . . The enormous increase in this unevenness at a time when the crisis of the capitalist system is becoming ever so much more acute is an extremely important factor for the development of the world proletarian revolution.

There are one or two minor criticisms. Some readers may feel disappointed that so little is said about the special features of fascist economy and fascist imperialism and about the important changes in the world political situation, and the Marxist reaction to these developments, in recent years. But the editors can probably reply that to have gone at all deeply into such questions would have been to go beyond the function of editors, adding footnote material to a classic work. The source references in most places are full and impressive, and display a discriminating acquaintance with the available material on the part of the editors (as one would, indeed, expect from them). But in one or two places I have noticed a mixing of secondary and primary sources in listing references, which might suggest to a critical mind a lack of first-hand knowledge or else of discrimination (for example, a listing of secondary newspaper references together with the *Statistical Abstract* on page 235). But these faults are few, and weigh lightly in the balance compared with the quality and the value of this new edition.

MAURICE DOBB.



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...peal were defeated in 1940.

Campbell was apparently unwilling to wait, however, and he wrote his chief concerning the editors of the New Masses and of Life, two weekly publications which he felt had been unfair to the organized anti-Semitic movement that "the sooner we stop treating them like human beings the better."

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From the *Daily Worker*

WE PLEAD GUILTY!

The editors of *New Masses* are indeed proud to plead guilty to the complaint voiced by James E. Campbell, Jew hater, anti-democrat, to Hitler-admirer, Jew hater, would-be-fascist-putsch-leader—Major General George Van Horn Moseley.

We feel so strongly about the growing menace of organized anti-Semitism that we would like to reach thousands of other readers with forthright documented NM articles exposing the role, and the backers of Hitler Moseley and his Goebbels.

Won't you aid *New Masses* editors in exposing anti-Semites in high places, and become an effective fighter of intolerance and bigotry. Help crush anti-Semitism — *by spreading New Masses.* . . . By subscribing now to *New Masses.* Fill out the coupon below. If you are not a steady subscriber of NM become one now.

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The Modern Drama

"The Changing World in Plays and Theater," by Anita Block.

MANY serious studies of the modern drama have appeared recently as new audiences have come to demand of the theater more than charmed forgetfulness. Anita Block's *The Changing World in Plays and Theater* (Little, Brown & Co., $2.75) is among the best of these.

The book begins by making important distinctions between "theater consciousness" and "play consciousness." Broadway's emphasis on the first has been responsible for many of the irrelevancies that confuse journalistic play discussion. It has made box office hits out of the infantile and the meretricious while it has ignored into failure many mature works. Mrs. Block's emphasis, however, is on "play consciousness," which she defines as "the condition of being critically alive, in the theater, to the play as literature, judging the values of its content as one judges those of . . . any other literary art form." This approach has resulted in illuminating discussion not only of plays that are recognized landmarks of dramatic literature but of others here deservedly recovered from the limbo of critical neglect.

Mrs. Block also makes a clarifying historical distinction between "modern" and "contemporary" drama, which corresponds to the different emphasis upon social problems before and after the World War, though the foundations of the later period are recognizable in the earlier. Beginning with the work of such writers as Ibsen, the younger Hauptmann, Chekhov, Wedekind, and Shaw, the book proceeds through a consideration of plays dealing with "The Individual in Conflict with Changing Sexual Standards," "The Conflict Within the Individual," "The Social Conflict," to a fresh consideration of anti-war plays and American drama of the left. There is an especially valuable and appreciative chapter on "Plays of Soviet Russia," a subject that has been all but neglected until now in English, though we have had useful studies of the non-literary phases of the Soviet theater. The Soviet theater, Mrs. Block observes, "realizes more nearly than any other the highest function of the theater, which is to integrate audiences with the age in which they live."

Discerning as the author is in her historical treatment of the drama, there is still an unfortunate omission of Strindberg, whose manifold contribution to the theater merits consideration here. Certainly it was his revolt against the bourgeois conception of "character" which did much to deliver the theater from its nineteenth century banality; and it was Strindberg who first taught the theater how poverty creates permanent maladjustments of personality and ruins family life. He is the source of much that is new in Wedekind and is the acknowledged master of O'Neill.

In her analysis of O'Neill, Mrs. Block

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takes issue with those commentators of the left who, while acknowledging his genuine power as a dramatist, attribute the confusion of much of his work to his failure to understand the social basis for his individual conflicts. Her assumption that "his contribution is an invaluable supplement to the Marxian interpretation of the individual's problems" is difficult to accept. It leads her to overestimate the "free spirit" of most of his work; so that the O'Neill who reverts to religious orthodoxy in *Days Without End* comes to her as too much of a surprise, though he is not far removed from the O'Neill who wrote in his early credo: "It is rather amusing to me to see how seriously people take politics and social questions and how much they expect of them. Life as a whole is changed very little, if at all, as a result of their course."

Anita Block has, nevertheless, brought such understanding to many phases of her subject that her book is indispensable. She finds the greatest hope for the future in America in the Federal Theater and advocates its permanent continuation as the most promising means of assuring production of plays "dedicated to the realization of man's agelong dream of freedom, individual and social." This is a conclusion that cannot be too strongly emphasized today.

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We find, for instance, the signatures of Jonas Lie, Social Register seascape painter, and Stuart Davis, revolutionary abstractionist, together at the end of the essay on painting. The works themselves have been selected with such catholicity that the "W" pages include Harry Watrous' photographic *Madonna and Child* and Max Weber's Cezannesque *Seeking Work,* two poles in easel painting.

The catalogue is invaluable reference for $2. The World of Tomorrow's contemporary painting gallery has also inspired the appearance of sixteen color reproductions of things from its walls, notably paintings by Waldo Pierce, Ernest Fiene, Bernard Karfiol, Emil Ganso, Eugene Speicher, Novolai Cikovsky, and Millard Sheets. The prints, eleven by fourteen, printed in offset, are being sold for $1 the set of sixteen. Throughout the catalogue and portfolio the vital importance of the Federal Arts Project to this varigated American art is made obvious.

J. D.

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Reader's Forum

From the Workers School

A. MARKOFF, the director of the Workers School, sends the following letter explaining a new consultation service which may interest our readers.

"We are sure that readers of NEW MASSES will be interested in and we hope will take advantage of a new feature of the Workers School which we have just organized, a consultation service to meet the needs of those throughout the country who are carrying on a study of Marxist theory.

"Anyone in any part of the country who, in his study of some aspect of Marxist theory, has come across a difficult point which requires further explanation, or who has a question to ask, may apply to our consultation service. At the same time, any who wish to embark on a course of study in Economics, History, Marxism-Leninism, etc., may write for guidance.

"There will be no fees; the only requirement being the enclosure of a self-addressed stamped envelope with each question. All communications should be addressed to the Consultation Service, Workers School, Room 301, 35 East 12th St., N. Y. C."

From Local 471

JAMES LINEHAN, secretary-treasurer of Local 471, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, AFL, sends us the following letter:

"We understand that you are investigating the charge made by some student waiters, formerly employed by Green Mansions, that they have been locked out. Because Green Mansions has signed a contract with us, we feel that such a charge is directed against us also, and we therefore wish to state the facts.

"For the years of 1937 and 1938 Green Mansions operated under contracts with Local 1 (located in New York City) of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union. For the season of 1939 Green Mansions was transferred to our jurisdiction because we are now the nearest active local to Green Mansions. This transfer of Green Mansions from Local 1 to Local 471 was the act of our International, with which both locals are affiliated. Green Mansions did not and could not effect or compel such a transfer without the sanction of the International, acting under the authority of its constitution.

"To refer to the transfer of jurisdiction as the reason or cause for the elimination of the student waiters and the hiring of professional waitresses is mere trickery. Green Mansions was given the right to hire professional waitresses by the decision of the New York State Board of Mediation, and by the virtue of its 1938 contract with Local 1. Even if there had been no transfer of jurisdiction, Green Mansions still would be privileged and entitled to engage professional waitresses in 1939.

"In conclusion we state that we have negotiated and signed an honest, beneficial contract with Green Mansions for a closed shop covering its kitchen, dining room, and canteen, and it is the only summer camp in the Adirondacks that has such an arrangement with organized labor."

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

From Vienna

The Wienerkleinkunstbuehne brings a refugee revue to the Music Box in New York City.

HITLER'S art pogroms have presented the democratic world with the greatest German-speaking men of film, art, literature, and theater. The young people of the Vienna Little Art Theater, like Voscovec and Werich from Praha, Max Reinhardt, Pisactor, the Peppermill troupe of Erica Mann, and a host of others came to America to begin anew in a strange tongue. Broadway has just received a gorgeous English-speaking revue, *From Vienna,* by the sprightly Viennese group called the Wienerkleinkunstbuehne. Through the sympathetic assistance of American theater people the Music Box is now the host to the very *Gemuetlichkeit* of the old city on the Danube, spoken in the miraculous English its sixteen banished children have learned in less than a year.

The evening's play is made up of an opening song speech to the audience by the entire smiling company, à la *Pins and Needles;* a musical satire on a Hitler decree; "Journey to Paradise," an ironic fantasy on an unemployed worker seeking to undo the machine age, written by one of the company, Jura Soyfer, who died last year in a concentration camp at the age of twenty-six, and put into English by the American John LaTouche, twenty-two. Then there is a bright and beautiful "Salzburg Puppet Show" in which American Irene Sharaff's costumes and the whimsical dragon of John Banner, the Outlaw Knight of Fred Essler, and the dainty Princess of Katherine Mattern make a quaint fable. Miss Illa Roden, pert as get-out, does a "Little Ballerina" sketch that had the audience bursting with bravos, then the refugees laugh at their perplexities with English in an uproarious turn featuring Fred Lorenz as the innocent with the German-English dictionary encountering New York's strange ways. When he tries to ingratiate himself with a subway strap-hanger by carefully reading, "Do . . . you . . . *like* . . . travel-ling," it is the perfect comment on the crazy new life. When the entire company leaves with a medley of Viennese songs one experiences a fellow feeling that too rarely reaches across footlights, much less across seas and cultures. They have found a foster city, stonier than their Wien, but gay *Wienergeist* has melted it.

Soyfer's one-act play is a brilliant idea, falling slightly in its execution. Only the "Musical Day" sketch joins it in needing tightening. The rest is light and heartwarming pleasure, sung, spoken, and pantomimed with virtuosity. The music comes from two pit pianos played by members of the company; Donald Oenslager's settings, Hassard Short's lighting, Miss Sharaff's costumes, and Charles Friedman's brisk directorial assistance to Herbert Berghof are good, thick American cream on Viennese coffee.

BARNABY HOTCHKISS.

FROM VIENNA. *Seven members of the refugee cast of the lively revue now running at the Music Box Theater in New York.*

The World's Best

Two International Film Festivals and Hollywood's latest.

AFTER last summer's howling success the Fifth Avenue Playhouse (N. Y.) is repeating its International Film Festival, from July 1 to September 11. The management has dedicated its procession of film masterpieces to world democracy, a conclusion that becomes obvious in any selection of the world's best films. I haven't seen them all, but I'll venture a list and playing dates of the films I have seen and intend to see again:

FRANCE: July 1, 2—*Grand Illusion;* July 7, 8—*Sous Les Toits de Paris;* July 11—*Generals Without Buttons;* July 12—*Un Carnet de Bal;* July 14—*A Nous La Liberte;* July 15, 16—*Carnival in Flanders.* IRELAND: July 18—*Man of Aran.* GERMANY (before Hitler): July 21—*"M";* July 22, 23—*The Captain of Koepenick.* CZECHOSLOVAKIA (B.H.): July 24—*Crisis.* SPAIN (B.H.): July 27—*The Spanish Earth.* ENGLAND: July 28, 29—*The 39 Steps;* August 2—*To the Victor;* August 4, 5—*The Private Life of Henry VIII.* MEXICO: August 8, 9—*The Adventures of Chico* and *The Wave.* UNITED STATES: August 11, 12—*Mr. Deeds Goes to Town;* August 13, 14—*Modern Times,* and *The Disney Review;* August 17, 18—*Make Way for Tomorrow;* August 25, 26—*The Good Earth.* CHINA: August 28—*The 400 Million.* AUSTRIA (B.H.): August 31—*Zwei Herzen im Drei-viertel Takt.* USSR: September 2, 3—*Potemkin* and *Chapayev;* September 4, 5—*Professor Mamlock;* September 6—*The Youth of Maxim;* September 7—*The Childhood of Maxim Gorky.*

The impressive new Museum of Modern Art (N. Y.) includes a comfortable cinema where each afternoon at four the Museum's Film Library screens items in a cycle of seventy films, outlining the history of the movies from 1895 to the thirties. Admission is a quarter to the museum and daily movies. Serious students of the pictures should follow an entire course, lasting a month, but most folks can't bury their grandmother every day for a month what with the Dodgers in town to complicate things. The cycle is being repeated continuously five times. The third starts July 10, the fourth August 9, the fifth September 8. Picking up in July you might see, on the tenth, six of the very earliest films illustrating "The Development of Narrative": July 13—Griffith's *Intolerance;* July 16—"Early German Films"; July 20—"The Early Swedish Film" with a Garbo item; July 21—

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"Early French Films"; July 23—Von Stroheim's *Greed;* July 25—*The Big Parade;* July 27—"The Documentaries," *Moana of the South Seas,* and *Berlin, the Symphony of a Big City;* July 28—Pabst's *The Love of Jeanne Ney;* August 3—"First American Talkies"; August 5—*Little Caesar;* August 8—*I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang.* The omission of Soviet contributions to film history is an inexcusable act on the part of the Museum, like a history of contemporary painting without France.

In the east wing of the Soviet Pavilion at the Fair there is an impressive little movie theater playing a series of film masterpieces from the USSR. The schedule for the next month is: to July 7—*Baltic Deputy;* July 7-14—*Song of Youth* (reviewed in this issue); July 14-21—*The Childhood of Maxim Gorky.* The last picture is in my opinion the finest art film made in the Soviet Union. The picture got a crude reception from the critics when it played at the Cameo but Fairgoers will now have the privilege of recognizing a permanent work of art. The Fifth Avenue Playhouse, the Museum cinema, and the Soviet theater are all air-conditioned.

TRIPLE BILL

About the best money's worth yet offered on second runs is the bill at the World (N. Y.)—*Alexander Nevsky* and *Crisis.* The management goes farther by adding a new and exciting newsreel from the Soviet Union called *Song of Youth,* about the terrific annual sports parade in Moscow. The rough legerdemain of Soviet athletics, swimming pools carried on the backs of the marchers and complete with divers and swimmers, whole cross-country runs with portable shrubbery, motorcycle tricks, etc., provide almost an hour of hair-raising entertainment.

JAMES DUGAN.

TAC's Radio Division

Theater Arts Committee cooperates in progressive broadcasts.

THE Theater Arts Committee has performed such splendid service in the production of its cabaret, the publishing of *TAC* magazine, and the popularizing of such songs as *The Chamberlain Crawl,* that one is likely to overlook the valuable contributions of the TAC Radio Division. In fact, the radio department has hardly received the recognition it deserves, because the public is too often unaware that the Theater Arts Committee is involved in the presentation of air entertainment.

It is not surprising that in radio as well as in the press there is a constant deletion and distortion of any news that slaps at vested interests. The radio division of TAC has done much to counteract the tory propaganda that has clogged up the air waves. For example, at the convention of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts, TAC

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TALLULAH BANKHEAD in THE LITTLE FOXES
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Greatest Achievement in History of the Soviet Cinema
AMKINO is proud to present
LENIN IN 1918
Boris V. Shchukin as Lenin • M. Gelovani as Stalin
Nikolai Cherkassov as Maxim Gorky
Ballerinas of the world famous Moscow Ballet
AIR-CONDITIONED
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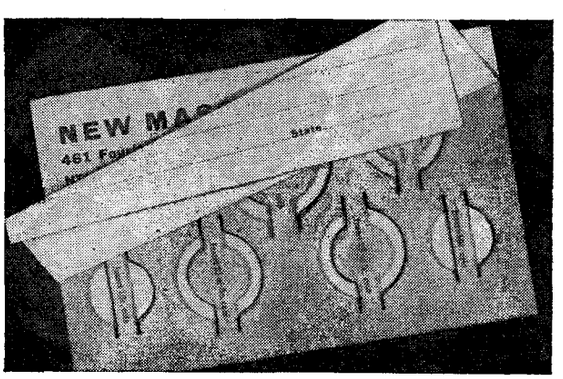

All of our subscribers have received these coin collectors through the mail. Won't you please send it to us immediately, whether it is full, half-full, or empty? Let's end the Save NEW MASSES drive with a flood of coin cards!

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wrote, directed, and supplied the actors for an enlightening playlet that was broadcast over WOL, Washington, D. C. The dramatization exposed what the press and air commentators failed to do—that we are providing our enemies, the fascist aggressors, with war material which may eventually be used against this country.

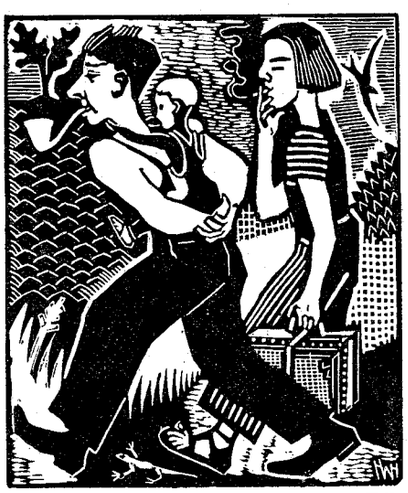
Included in the cast were such outstanding performers as Martin Gable, Tamara, and Hester Sonnegard. This presentation was subsequently recorded and played over numerous other stations throughout the country.

Another of TAC's radio ventures was a series called "Voices for Peace." The first program was offered in connection with National Peace and Security Week, and presented among others, Burgess Meredith, Leif Erickson, and Frances Farmer. Thereafter, seven dramatizations covering other subjects, including one relating to the Spanish struggle, were broadcast. Eye-witness reports by Dorothy Parker and Ernest Hemingway were incorporated in the script of this program.

Further support for the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts was given in two programs, one depicting the conflict in China, the other setting forth the facts about Munich.

An equally good program was one written by Bob Tasker, featuring Jean Muir, the Hollywood star. Called "Vessels of Wrath," it appeared just before the close of the Spanish war and urged the Spanish patriots not to desert their cause.

Of particular interest was TAC's assistance to the American League for Peace and Democracy, in preparing a transcribed series for broadcast over WHBI, the same station over which Father Coughlin broadcasts his anti-Semitic, fascist propaganda. The first broadcast was so well received, and the laudatory fan letters so numerous that the station evidently grew alarmed. The league's contract was canceled at the end of the second week. Moreover, a most mysterious "accident" occurred. The night before the final broadcast, the record was left under the watchful care of the studio personnel. On the evening of the show, it was discovered that the transcrip-



Woodcut by Helen West Heller

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I WORK for a 4A agency. We handle everything from toothpaste and cigarette accounts to nostrums, automobiles and quack remedies. We're a varied sort, we advertising workers. Here's a list of some of us: art director, production man, copywriter, artist, lettering man, idea man, account solicitor, account executive, space salesman—and this is only a small part of it!

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Actually when you come right down to it, we're in a key position to influence millions of Americans to want the good things in life—only Wall Street won't let us.

Today Wall Street owns us. The reason for this is there are more links than you can shake a stick at which connect the big banks, the newspaper publishers, and the advertiser. You can't separate any of these links, they are all one. They're the reactionaries in the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. They're the tories in Congress gunning against WPA. They're the guys that won't let us open our mouths and tell people the real truth about the products we're compelled to describe.

These facts are beginning to penetrate. We advertising workers are getting together just like coal miners—and Bruce Barton doesn't like it! We're learning how huge advertising space orders, for instance, can be used for political purposes and against the will of the people. This is our cue. We're the people. We're beginning to go into politics ourselves. We're lending our brains, our strength and our peculiar talents to *the account of Progress!*

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BETHEL, CONN. Charming furnished cottage, 2 bedrooms, screened porch, refrigeration. Bathing. $225 per season. Allison, Plumtrees District.

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YOUNG MEN, here's a break. Reduced rates at adult camp on private lake. $18 for early reservations. N. M. Box 1591.

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CHICKENS roasted over coals. Good swimming. Dinner on the porch. It's Fourth of July. Colonial farm house. All conveniences. $14 per week. Reservation only. Ertoba Farm, R. 2, Quakertown, Pa.

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UNSPOILED VERMONT! Peace, quiet, beauty with small group of progressives. $15-$18 a week. Write to Reland Gray, Ethan Allan Farm, RFD2, Chester, Vt.

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tion had been punched full of holes, which of course made it impossible to present the program. Station WHBI was completely baffled—so it claimed.

Of current importance is TAC's preparation for two new series, one to dramatize the significance of the Bill of Rights, the other dealing with peace and democracy. The organization is also publishing a pamphlet instructing progressive organizations throughout the country how to arrange with local stations for the broadcasting of the recorded programs prepared by TAC.

John Brown, chairman of the Radio Division and an actor frequently appearing in headline shows, is one of a considerable number of capable performers. They include Teddy Bergman, Neil O'Malley, Walter Pollack, Arthur Anderson, Chester Stratton, Colfax Sanderson, Anne Boley, Adelaide Klein, Paul Stewart, Ed Latimer, J. Justyn, Waldamar Koppel, and Martin Wolfson.

JOHN VERNON.

Von Ripper's Art

Nazi concentration camps and America in the art of a refugee.

RUDOLPH VON RIPPER is an Austrian baron who, although he was a non-political person, found himself thrown into a German concentration camp during a visit to Naziland before *Anschluss*. After months of the kind of treatment that does not bear repeating, von Ripper was delivered from the torturers by a brave Austrian consular representative, who must have later paid for his manhood when Hitler returned the visit. Flying to Paris, von Ripper began work on his series of etchings of concentration camps, *Ecraser l'infame,* which were recently exhibited at the ACA Gallery (N. Y.) along with a selection of work he has done since coming to America.

Peter Breughel's greatest work was done during the Spanish occupation of Flanders; the great canvas *Calvary* is a heavily charged symbolical attack on the invaders. Von Ripper's symbols are contrived without mythology but from as cutting a surrealist sense as Hieronymous Bosch's. The Nazi jailers have faces made of a hideous toothless grin, no eyes or nose, and the satirical gayety of a large drawing of the World's Fair is obtained from similar apt distortions. Von Ripper draws with the clarity of Durer, to whom his style belongs. Like George Grosz and Luis Quintanilla, he has come from stormy Europe to peaceful preoccupation with American life. Unlike Grosz, von Ripper does not accept America at its face value. His drawings of Central Park and the skyscrapers do not lose their social insight. In two of the later works, *Children of Guernica* and *The Means Have Changed, the End is the Same,* the artist confronts fascism with its crimes in Spain. Von Ripper has not thawed in our sun, his purpose is as icy as it was when the Nazi jailers tried to break him.

J. D.

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CHI-WAN-DA ON THE HUDSON

ULSTER PARK, NEW YORK. PHONE: KINGSTON 1329

On the Mountain Lake Esopus, overlooking the beautiful Hudson River. Social staff, dancing. All water and land sports. Fine cuisine. Most modern improvements.

Directions: Train-Bus-Boat to Kingston

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"like being paid to win First Prize"

There's a first prize waiting for every contestant: A BIGGER AND BETTER NEW MASSES. 10,000 new subscriptions will make an improved New Masses possible. Here's your chance to join in the fun of building YOUR *magazine and—incidentally, don't forget the $200 in prizes.*

We believe that this contest offers an exciting way to create dramatic interest in our campaign to spread NEW MASSES to thousands of progressive men and women who ought to be reading it. Past participation of our readers in NM circulation drives amply convinces us that every NM reader is an NM plugger. If this means you, hop on the bandwagon, enter the contest now, and win new readers for NEW MASSES and a prize for yourself by translating your regard for NM into a punchy slogan for NEW MASSES and a cash prize for you.

You don't have to be an ace copywriter to think of crackerjack slogans. You'll find that as you describe the NEW MASSES to your prospects, dozen of thoughts will come easily to your mind. For it isn't difficult to think of fine things to say about America's finest magazine. Just jot these thoughts down and among them you're sure to find at least a few sparkling slogans of prize-winning calibre.

A CASH PRIZE EVERY WEEK

$100.00

GRAND PRIZE

$10.00 Weekly Prize Every Week for TEN Weeks

SAMPLE SLOGANS

"America's Indispensable Weekly"—"America's Ace Popular Political Weekly"—"Today's Events in Present Tense"—"The Stopwatch of Contemporary History"—"America's Champion News Interpreter"—"America's Crack Viewsmagazine"

The important thing to remember as you talk to your friends is that the slogan must be a thrilling, hard-hitting sales talk for NEW MASSES in not more than five words.

Reach for a pencil. Start making lists of everybody you know, getting a buck or more from them for a sub, and then get them to enter the contest too. It's really a sort of a giant Build NEW MASSES chain letter idea, isn't it?

It's like being paid to eat ice cream—you can have a lot of fun, polish your persuasive power, be creative for NEW MASSES, win a cash prize, and most important of all, *jump* NEW MASSES *circulation 10,000 or more by Labor Day!*

So get out your pencil and paper and start competing—

TODAY!

HERE ARE THE RULES

1. Everyone but NM staff members and their relatives is eligible.
2. The contest opens June 22 and closes September 4 (Labor Day).
3. Slogans must not exceed five words but may be less.
4. Here's how to qualify for the contest: Go to your friends, relatives, and professional acquaintances and convince them to become regular NEW MASSES readers. While you are showing them the magazine and talking about its fine points you will find yourself expressing its qualities in terms your listeners are interested in. This is what will make up the grand prize slogan—a sharp, terse, and dramatic description of the usefulness of the magazine to progressive people.

   For every $1 twelve-week trial subscription you secure you may submit one slogan.

   For every $2.50 six-month subscription you may submit two slogans.

   For every $4.50 yearly subscription you may submit three slogans.

   There is no limit to the number of slogans you may submit. Simply accompany them with the required number of cash subscriptions. The greater the number of slogans you submit, the greater your chance of winning the weekly prize of $10 and the grand prize of $100.00.

   If you are not a subscriber now you may enter the contest by sending in your own yearly subscription ($4.50). If you are a subscriber, you may enter the contest merely by extending the life of your own current subscription for one year ($4.50).
5. The first contest winner will be announced in the issue of NEW MASSES that appears July 6. In that issue and in each of the next nine issues we will reprint the winning slogan and award the weekly prize of $10.00. One month after the closing date of the contest we will announce the winner of the grand prize of $100.00.
6. All slogans submitted, whether winners or not, become the property of NEW MASSES, and cannot be returned. In the events of a tie for weekly or grand prize the full amount of the prize will be awarded to each tying contestant.
7. Judges of the contest will be three editors of NEW MASSES—Joseph North, A. B. Magil, Samuel Sillen. Their decisions are final.

IMPORTANT!

You do not have to submit a slogan to win a prize! Secure $10 worth of subscriptions in any denomination—and you will be awarded *your choice* of any one of the 12 books listed below. This offer has absolutely no connection with the contest except that its purpose is the same—to build NEW MASSES!

Important! Because we want to get things humming right away and because we are lucky enough to have the kind of readers that we do, we make the following proposition: You don't have to wait until you have secured the entire $10 worth of subscriptions to win a prize—send in $5 worth of subs now—and we'll mail you the book right away and trust to that impeccable NM loyalty of yours to send in the balance of the $5 worth of subscriptions as soon as you secure 'em. Start today!

Choose YOUR Gift:

TITLE	VALUE
Ernst Toller, Look Thru the Bars	$2.75
William Blake, The World is Mine	3.00
Ralph Bates, Rainbow Fish	2.00
Romain Rolland, Death of a World	2.50
Millen Brand, The Outward Room	1.25
Leane Zugsmith, A Time to Remember	2.00
A. B. Magil & Henry Stevens, The Peril of Fascism	$2.00
N. Ostrovsky, Born of the Storm	1.50
Four Soviet Plays	1.75
Ralph Bates, Sirocco	2.50
Elliot Paul, Concert Pitch	2.50
Robert Graves, Claudius, the God	3.00
Sylvia Townsend Warner, Summer Will Show	2.50

Build New Masses Slogan Contest

JULY 4, 193

ROOM 1204, 461 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Gentlemen: Here is my slogan entry. Please send NEW MASSES for twelv issues for $1 as per your trial offer ☐; for six months at $2.50 ☐; for on year at $4.50 ☐ to:

Name of New Subscriber . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

My Slogan for NEW MASSES Is . . . . . .

. . . . . .

My Name Is . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

THIS COUPON IS FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE—USE YOUR OWN FORM IF YOU PREFER

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